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THE

LIFE, JOURNALS,

AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ. F.R.S.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY SAMUEL BENTLEY,
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

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SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ. F.R.S.

SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY IN THE REIGNS OF CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.

INCLUDING

A NARRATIVE OF

HIS VOYAGE TO TANGIER.

DECIPHERED FROM THE SHORT-HAND MSS. IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

BY THE REV. JOHN SMITH, A.M.

DECIPHERER OF "PEPYS'S MEMOIRS."

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINALS.

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THE LIFE,

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SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ.

MR. HOUBLON TO PEPYS, AT CADIZ.

SIR, London, Dec. 8, 1683.

I HAD the satisfaction to receive yours of the 11th and 17th, and (by Dr. Trumbull) of the 19th October, and now, yours of 5th November, with all which, with the account of your health, both myself, and your friends with me, have been greatly pleased.

By the miscarriage of that letter I wrote by the Andaluzia, I am greatly disappointed in my hope of your having the like satisfaction in hearing from us. I cannot lay blame on Mr. Hodges, till I have an account how, and by whom, he sent it. I blame myself that I have not written to you since, though I have, in excuse, the continual hopes you gave of your speedy return.

Who, indeed, could have thought the work so difficult, and in consequence, so tedious?

We all are greatly obliged for your concern for our welfare, which, thanks be to God! continues to us all. Not a friend of yours, that I know of, but is in the same state you left them in; our neighbour, sister Dolly, excepted, who is abroad again, out of her bed, after a month, that a pretty little girl detained her there. We have had such a set of sunshine and good weather, that we have been charmed to the Forest, and are there still; and nothing but the good news of your being ashore in Old England will bring us home.

I have little hopes that this letter will reach you, though, if you go to Spain, curiosity may detain you to see a very ancient kingdom. You will discover many monuments of antiquity the Romans, Moors, and other barbarous nations have left there; and will perceive, better than was possible otherwise, the weakness of that monarchy, and how near to ruin, unless by a miracle they come to their wits again, and church and state see it necessary to depart from a good part of the encroachments made on the people, who, by a multiplicity of ecclesiastic and lay officers, military and civil, are picked to the bones, having given the former their lands and moneys to save their souls, and have what remains eaten up by tithes, excises, gabels, and intolerable customs, from flesh down to herbs; so that, excepting

some grandees, you will find the generality poor. There seems to be a necessity of some great change to make them happier; but you will think me extravagant to entertain you with notes upon Spain, when I should tell you rather what is done here.

Know, then, that since the execution of Lord Russell, Squire Ketch hath had an ill time on't. All our plotters, except Algernon Sidney, who stands condemned, have had the good luck to get out of the Tower and other prisons, by being bailed at the King's Bench, about eight days after the Duke of Monmouth appeared, the 23rd November. He is now greatly complimented by all, and the King very kind to him; so is the Duke. What this great change will tend to, and who wrought it, is yet a mystery. My hope is, that it will tend to the peace of the kingdom, and reconciling all parties.

The Germans and Poles are in winter quarters; only they block up some out-garrisons of the Turks, which must surrender this winter. They are intent on new levies, that they may have an army superior to the last, to cope with the vast power with which the Turk threatens to be revenged, in the spring. The Hollanders and Spaniards are brisk on the French; and the Danes and Swedes make great levies. So that, next summer, you will see, in all appearance, such a tragedy as Europe never saw since Julius Cæsar's

time. God divert it from us! and grant we may keep clear out, and give us the honour to be peace-makers by turning the balance!

My way, you see, is blocked up by an unexpected scribbler,* and I think my writing more can't be worth double-postage. What I have further to say is, to assure you that we make daily prayers and wishes for your happy return, being extremely disappointed at your long stay, having promised ourselves great rejoicings to see you, and to hear histories of your voyage, and your paraphrasing what you remarked in all the occurrences which, however tedious and troublesome, must needs have been, withal, very diverting to your discerning understanding and judgment, which, with ease, penetrates at once ~~the minutest~~ particulars of whatsoever comes before you.

I desire you to present my most humble service to Mr. Hewer, whose impatient mother is very well. All his friends and yours are impatient as she, to see ye all; and so am I, who, with an entire affection, am,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

J. HOUBLON.

* "Mr. Houblon, ~~I think~~, here refers to the third side of his letter being written on by Mrs. Houblon."—J. S.

MRS. HOUBLON TO PEPYS.

I COULD chide and call names, but words are too small a revenge. I am resolved blows shall end our quarrel, especially since you are turned soldier.

Therefore, come home quickly, that your sorrow may be over as well as Mrs. Hewer's. I wish her age may get over hers, so easily as your ill-nature will help you out of yours; for we won't believe a word you say while you are so little solicitous to bring us to the happiness (as you would have us believe, at least) of seeing your friends.

Present my service to Mr. Hewer, and tell him, 't is well for him his mother has more good-nature than I have, or she would never forgive him; and, should she die, I think he ought never to forgive himself; nor you yourself, for being the tempter. But I hope your undertaking has given you a full reward.

Winchester Street affords many well-wishers to you, not only those of your old fusty residence, but your neighbours of the new building, where there is a new comer into the world that does by instinct, or will learn hereafter, to wish you well, my sister Dolly's pretty daughter.

May you and Mr. Hewer furnish yourselves well with Ba——* and chocolate, that you may

* "Torn out by the seal."—J. S.

keep yourselves warm within and without, on your return to England, where you will find it much colder than it was in Spain.

Here are all in health, men, women, children, and servants, who spend mighty time in their devotions for your safe return. Your friend, Thomas, never hears you mentioned without lifted-up eyes.

Adieu!

PEPYS TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

My Lord, Cadiz, Christmas-Day, 1683.

'T is with impatience (on his Majesty's behalf and your lordship's, as my own) I have waited a change of weather, we having not had, till yesterday, one hour fair, to be able, for wind and rain, to look abroad since we came hither; and the floods are so high in the country that, should it continue fair, as it hath two days, my friends here tell me there will be no passing the roads these five days more.

However, such is my resolution of saving every minute in my return towards your lordship, that, sink or swim, I will set out hence, on Tuesday next, the first day the devotion of this place will suffer either man or mule to work on, after this day. By that time, too, Mr. Hewer hopes to see all secured (which we have also regard to) that is

to be had of the things you required to be bought here. I am,

With all possible respect,
My Lord,
Your lordship's most obedient faithful servant,
S. PEPYS.

MR. SHERES TO PEPYS.

SIR, Tangier, December 29, 1683.

BEING now waiting on my Lord, we learn by a vessel, which wants three weeks, from England, and touched here, that the Duke of Monmouth has suddenly surprised the Duke [of York], ~~that~~, and falling on his knees, would not rest till the Duke had yielded to pardon him; which, they say, he did on promise of his faithfully discovering the whole intrigue of the Whigs' villainy. You may believe as much of this as you please; we give it as much as it deserves.*

I am hurried to subscribe
Your most faithful humble servant,
H. SHERES.

* "1682, May 8. An Order of Council, prohibiting persons of quality to converse with the Duke of Monmouth. June 28. A proclamation for apprehending the Duke. Nov. 5. Rioters committed for crying out '*a Monmouth!*' 1683, Nov. 25. The Duke submitted, and was admitted to his Majesty's presence." —*Brit. Chron.* i. 293; *Chron. Hist.* i. 227.

PEPYS TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

Cadiz, about seven days after Christmas-Day,
1683.—(Jan. 1, 1684.)

MY LORD,

NOTWITHSTANDING what I told your lordship in my former, by the Lark, I am still here, the height of the floods by the late rains continuing such, that, among many other instances, Mr. Alderman Ludington, of Tangier, after having waited above ten days at St. Lucar, in expectation of a passage thence to Seville, returned hither but yesterday, as unwilling to wait for it longer.

From which consideration, and my desire of returning with all diligence to your lordship, I had resolved upon doing it immediately on the Woolwich which brings this; but the weather coming about very fair yesterday, and so continuing, I am encouraged afresh to try a few days more, being unwilling to lose the benefit of the favour your lordship intended me in this journey. But if the weather do not continue thoroughly to favour me, I will presently quit the satisfaction I pretended to, therein, and come back hither to take the very first opportunity of attending your lordship.

Captain Killigrew hath acquainted me with the kindness your lordship was pleased to express your design of doing him, in sending him hither. The diligence he daily uses in the despatch of his ship's business at this place, shows me he does

not intend to make any unfitting use of it. I wish I could say the same of everybody else that will remain here.

I have had ample occasions given me of discoursing the merchants here upon the subject of Tangier. However they seem to apprehend the consequences to Spain, I find not one of them that does not express an entire conviction of the reasonableness and necessity of the King our master's proceedings in it with respect to himself and his government.

So, kissing your lordship's hands, I remain,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most obedient servant,

S. Pepys.

PEPYS TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

My Lord, St. Lucar, January 5-15, 1683-4.

Your lordship hath had, I am sure, too many other instances of the ill condition of the weather since my leaving you, to be surprised that I should be offering excuses for my being no further from you than this place, the season having been such, notwithstanding the hopes I had, in former letters, expressed to your lordship, of the contrary, as not in all this time to have given me two dry days together to look out of doors in, till Monday last, when I did immediately set

out for Porto Santa Maria, and thence hither. From whence I am going, though the weather is becoming wet again, towards Seville, where I will endeavour, with all despatch, to run through, as I have done here, what that place will afford me of entertainment, and return to your lordship.

This unfortunateness of the season, and the loss of time occasioned by it, renders my journey of much less satisfaction to me than you were pleased to design it should; though this consideration of the weather do at the same time mind me of the little service my attendance would have been of to your lordship at Tangier, had I been still there.

Extremely afflicted I am for the miscarriage of the victuallers; though, I trust in God! you will find a sufficiency remaining to answer all your occasions, if the weather would but favour us. God send to your lordship a happy issue thereto!

My Lord,

Your lordship's most obedient and faithful servant,

S. Pepys.

Mr. Hewer gives your lordship his most humble duty.

PEPYS TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

MY LORD, Seville, February 3-13, 1683-4.

I BEG your lordship to believe me in saying, that I never suffered, through my whole life, so great a disappointment in any undertaking wherein I had proposed to myself particular satisfaction, as I have and do in this my journey to Spain; not so much from what I am prevented in by the weather, of the content I hoped it might have been of to me here, as from my being so much longer detained from the service of the King and your lordship at Tangier. Not that I have the vanity of thinking all I can do so considerable in any degree to either, as your lordship, in your excess of kindness, are pleased to write concerning it; but that, if less or more, I would have nothing to blame myself for, of neglect in that in which I desire to acquit myself with so entire a duty towards his Majesty, and personal regard and affection to your lordship.

But here the weather hath been such, that after having finished, in six days, all my curiosity aimed at, and could perform in this place, I have been, by the height of the floods, kept out of any capacity of quitting it. The ways, by land, have become wholly unpassable; and the river so overflowed, that notwithstanding all endeavours used for preventing it, by locking its gates, and damming up all other inlets, above one-third of the

place within the walls hath been drowned, so as many persons are said to have been famished for want of access for provisions; nor is there believed to be ten dates more left within it for the whole town.

Nor was it before this morning that your letters of 11th of January could reach me, the weather, notwithstanding many public processions for its amendment, continuing still what it hath been ever since my arrival, it being now above eighteen days that I have had a boat waiting for a servant to carry me down to St. Lucar. Nor shall a moment be lost that can be saved: on this I beg your lordship to depend; and that, consonant to the order with which, for my convenience, you are pleased to furnish me, I will immediately embark for Tangier from Cadiz, observing your direction in favour of Captain Williams.

Mr. Hewer, who is under the same affliction with me, presents your lordship his most humble duty; and also by this post, according to your commands, sends letters to Mr. Gardener about the cables, powder, and pitch, that no time be lost in their despatch, if the goods be to be found.

To my former uneasinesses, I have not wanted the consideration of the several difficulties and distresses to which your lordship, from the same cause, may have been exposed. But a great deal thereof is, I thank God! removed by the notice

your letters give me of the great advancement in the work of the Mole,* and coming in of the greatest part of your ships: nor will I despair but a little time will finish all there, and bring thither for your further commands,

My Lord,
Your lordship's most obedient and faithful humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

* "So strongly had the masonry been cemented together, that they were forced to drill holes in it, and blow it up by piecemeal The Moors have not been able to raise it beyond the rank of a mere fishing-town."—*Diary of Teonge.*

The following is a description of Tangier as it appeared in 1675:—"It stands on the side of a hill, or rather in a bottom, between two little hills, one narrow passage leading to it from the water, with a steep ascent close by one end of a strong castle. The Mole (not finished, but daily, in the summer, increased) hath many great guns, and will be a brave safeguard. The houses are only two stories high, flat-roofed, and covered with hollow tiles, laid without mortar; windows, but no glass: the streets narrow, full of angles, and very roughly paved. In a word, no comeliness in the whole place. The walls, very high and old, and much decayed in many places, but full of good guns, compass the town, like a half-moon, with a very deep trench cut in the rock. On the land-side there is a pitiful palazado, not so good as an old park pale."—*Diary of Teonge.*

PEPYS'S JOURNAL IN SPAIN.

Cadiz, 1683-4. Feb. 12.—Hodges and Puckle tell me, the French men-of-war never take in money, but let their merchantmen take in all, saying it is against the glory of their master to serve any but him, and he gives them encouragement enough.

They say the only nation, besides the French and us, whose men-of-war come in hither, are the Dutch, but never without convoys. They suffer their merchant-ships to take in money. If the men-of-war do it, they have one and a-half per cent.; our commanders have but one: one-third goes to their merchantmen, another to their Admiralty, and the remaining third to themselves.

The plate our nation sends from hence to Genoa (belonging to Genoeses) is not worth naming: so that carrying money to the Straits is of no benefit to our own commerce, but an indignity to our King's service.

They speak mightily of evil consequences (to breaking two or three considerable families) of Captain Ashby's late taking in money from

hence, on promise of carrying it directly to Genoa; whereas he went, according to orders, to Lord Dartmouth at Tangier, and there stayed attending the work of the Mole, as did other ships. The persons who put money on board valued themselves on the same, and drew bills on Genoa. The money not coming timely to answer their occasions in some mart or fair there, the bills were protested, and the persons that drew them forced to break and go away.

A more shameful evil hath fallen out. Ashby, meeting Hobson coming from Italy, did, by order of Lord Dartmouth, take him back, in order also to do him kindness. Hobson, having taken in silks and other goods at Leghorn, went into Alicant. There, instead of bringing them to Cadiz, as he had undertaken, he put them into the custom-house; the owners to pay new duties, and get them thence as they can.

Another, of late date, they talk of; Captain Wren's going to Lisbon with priests from Tangier. Calling here, by leave of Lord Dartmouth, he gave out that he was to go right to England, though he knew he was to go back to Tangier. On that lie, he got a pretty deal of money put on board. That done, he did his business at Lisbon, returned to Tangier, and stays to go home with my Lord and the fleet, to the infamy of the King's service and commanders.

So many rogueries close on one another, and

the flota coming in while we are on the place, our merchants have put above five hundred pieces of eight on board the Andaluzia, Captain Jacobs, a merchantman of between twenty and thirty guns, with orders to go right for England. This they did, though they had several King's ships in the bay, and more coming in from Tangier, particularly Berry and Killigrew, and the whole fleet expected daily in its way home, and though there is a war with Sallee; which shows men-of-war to carry our nation's money not absolutely necessary for safety, though ordinarily preferred.

Another evil they have met with, of having moneys taken out of their ships by order of their superior officers, as Herbert's out of Shovel's. Thereby the merchant loses the benefit of the insurance, in case of the second ship's miscarriage. Then, our ships having been sometimes forced to Algiers with their money on board, instead of going with it right to Italy.

Moreover, Williams came hither with the Newfoundland fleet. Here he stays, on pretence of repairs (some he might well need,) and of new defects by a new leak, after his ship was made fit to go. Not having the money expected, by the stop laid on the plate-ships by the King of Spain, he lay here two months, till all his convoys were gone, or stayed till they thought their market lost, and would not go at all. At length he went with his money (to Tangier, too) in his way to

Italy without any convoy at all. Of this Mr. Hewer took the liberty to write, particularly from Cadiz to my Lord Dartmouth. Notwithstanding which, when my Lord wrote to me from Tangier to desire my return, as of importance to the King, and sent me an order to take any ship from any other business to bring me, he expressly prayed me to spare his old friend, Williams, who, he understood, had an opportunity of making his fortune by being here.

When I at length returned from Seville, I wrote from port to Mr. Hodges, to get Sir John Berry to meet me next day at his house at Cadiz, on the King's business. Being then in port, in the Henrietta, Killigrew in the Montague, Preestman in the Bonaventure, and young Berry in the yacht, I communicated to him my Lord's order and letter. He plainly told me, and showed me my Lord's order, that he and Killigrew came hither to lie till my Lord called them; and it was only to do them kindness, to get in money, on which I see they are busy. Preestman doing the like, to carry into the Straits, without any pretence of business, answered me, it would be hard upon himself and Killigrew to have it put on them to go with me. Preestman also wanted water, and would not be ready in less than five or six days, which would be too late, my Lord being expected here in two. His brother Berry's yacht, too, was on the careen, as I

saw, fitting herself for sea; but the Deptford ketch, Captain George, coming in from Tangier at this very hour, with Nicholson going for England, he might carry me. I made a doubtful answer, to get an opportunity of writing the next morning, sending him my Lord's original order, and leaving him, as commander-in-chief, to direct the execution. He put the order into George's hand to execute, without any written order on it - so directing him: whereas the order being general, was obliging to none but him into whose hands I put it, which was Sir John Berry himself. So they wholly prefer their own profit to the King's service, whatever its import; though it was but two days' work to carry me, and return.

George came to me, in appearance very ready, yet discouraging me from cross winds, and the possibility of being at sea two or three days, and missing my Lord. I stomached, indeed, being so used, but was glad of an instance in my own case of what I am collecting about this business of money. Nor could George have gone with any ease to me, having a whole company of soldiers from Tangier on board a pestered small ship, and in want of water.

February 16. With Sir John Berry, (in his barge,) Hewer, and Hodges, to see Portall, &c. In our way out and back, I heard discoursed very freely, by Sir John Berry himself, the business of

carrying money and goods. He never carried a bale of goods; and he believes as much of Killigrew and Ashby, commending them for it. For others, it was generally done every day as freely as anything can be. He instanced Hobson's (lately mentioned) bringing goods from Italy, and leaving them at Alicant. He does, indeed, confess that, by my Lord's express leave, at his last coming hither, on the breaking up of Tangier, he did bring household stuff, and some particular merchandise, for which he had fifty pieces of eight, all of that kind he ever made. He was offered to have carried some Turks from Italy to any ports on the Turkish side, to which he was going, and might have made for them and their goods three thousand pieces of eight. He would not carry them unless they would leave their goods behind. They could not, and so he lost that freight.

Being in the Straits, in the Dreadnought, with orders for staying at Cadiz fourteen days, his time being out, the merchants prayed him to stay, because the flota was expected in ten days. Without any trick on his side, they did this most earnestly, by advice under their hands, desiring him to stay but ten days, for the good of the nation. Yet he would not, though they tempted him with a prospect of money, as his profit would have come to three thousand pounds.

Sir W. Poole came in The Happy Return, my

Lord of Grafton with him. His time being limited to ten days, it run out. Herbert being there, Poole was to go home presently, (his time being limited to ten days,) but he submitted, not only to give Herbert half his profit, but, before he had the merchant's money on board, to sign a bill of lading for so much put on board him, in pieces of eight, to be delivered to Fulano, in England. On which Herbert gave Poole, on some pretended considerations of service to the King, his order to stay there. Hodges and Berry said he was kept here seven or eight weeks for the flota, and till the money could be got for him.

By the death of Captain Gardiner, the Assistance being void, Herbert took Barber from a little sloop into that fourth-rate, on his agreeing to give him three-fourths of the profit of what money he carried. So he was kept the same time, and advanced on that score only. His clear profit was five hundred pounds. Two ships more, Rooke's and Carder's, Herbert, at the same time, kept many weeks to carry money to the Straits, without any other occasion of going thither; yet neither complied with their undertaking, but, before they went to the proper ports, were forced to go, with all their money on board, to Algiers.

What is yet to be bemoaned, Berry tells us, when he came home he told the King how, only for obedience to orders, he had lost four thousand

pounds, which Poole had got. The King, instead of thanking him, answered, that he was a fool for not doing as Poole did.

On the whole, it is plain this business of money, which runs through and debauches the whole service of the navy, is now come to the highest degree of infamy, and nobody considers it. Berry himself gives me reason to think it will be so found; and I see ground to examine whether this hath not evidently broke out since my leaving the navy, from his and Poole's days having been so limited, and both being so careful to comply with their times.

As it is most necessary this should be reformed, so the doing it will be, by showing how the King will then be a gainer in his purse as well as otherwise, by what he is now a sufferer. In order thereto, to examine the journals of commanders and masters of several ships that, ever since my time, have been in the Straits, and see what time, one with another, they have spent in port, and the computed charge for their so doing, besides what else the King suffers in his service and honour.

February 17.—Sir John Berry dining with me at Mr. Hodges's, we fell into our discourse of yesterday. The merchants' bills, accompanying the money sent on board, being brought to him, he did tell us, with great repining and wondering, how Jacobs, before-mentioned, in the Andaluzia,

receives much much more money than he and Killigrew together. This morning, before he came from on board, he computed it, and finds that Jacobs received 80,000 pieces of eight, in the time that he received 41,000*l.* Asking him the reason, he told me, with disquiet, he believed it proceeded from the merchants' spite to the King's captains; else they could not but think it safer to use men-of-war than merchantmen, especially in his case, who, they may be sure, cannot be liable, like lesser commanders, to be ordered otherwhere than where now ordered, with my Lord to England.

Mr. Hodges did not think there was any ill-will in it. The greatest part of his money he had sent on board him and Killigrew, being expressly ordered to do so by Sir John Lethulier, and his house. Most other merchants direct their money to be put upon merchantmen, if of force. Such is Jacobs' ship, of between twenty and thirty guns, strong enough against any Sallee-man, and we have no other enemies at sea. Then they are sure their moneys will come to the port they are consigned to, and delivered without trouble, and charge of carriage; whereas the King's captains touch at Plymouth; then to Portsmouth, perhaps there lie up, or come to the Downs, and are long kept there. It may be they set out again; then their money must be tossed and tumbled they know not where.

On which Berry said he, undertaking to satisfy them, had offered, and would make it good, to bear the whole charge of carriage of their money, if he do not deliver it in the river of Thames, or some such like: yet they would not be satisfied, though they knew my Lord was expected every hour, to call them away for England. Jacobs by and by coming in to Mr. Hodges, told us he had taken in all he intended, locked-up his hatches, and did not intend to stay one moment for the fleet, but would be gone the first fair wind.

Speaking with Berry about the affronts to Shovel and Elmer the other day by the Spanish admiral, he told me (among other excuses they make for themselves) they said, each had money aboard, and did not think it fit to hazard the merchant's estates, as they otherwise would: another good effect of carrying money! In this discourse of these two men, Berry fell, of himself, to wonder how my Lord comes to do nothing in examining them at a court-martial, he having not only to him in particular, as well as to me, said what he would do towards restoring good discipline; but that he had told the King before his coming, and got the King's leave that he should: which, Berry says, did strike some terror into the young men, and made them expect he would fall to inquiring into misdemeanours, particularly into these two men's cases. But, instead of doing anything like it, none are more in favour than

these very two, and the young men that are the greatest libertines of the fleet, my Lord saying he shall but make enemies to no purpose.

I was observing to Mr. Hodges, that I believed what Berry said, of not staying beyond the days limited, though to his benefit, was true; but that, indeed, he durst not do otherwise. It was in my time, and I limited them, and saw that they kept to their orders. He answered, it was true as to him, for he did join with others in desiring Berry to stay because of the ships, both galleons and flota, then expected in a very little time, with money. Yet in all his time, till within these four or five years, on Herbert's becoming admiral, it never was that ships came in hither on purpose to stay two months or more for money, without any other business, as ships have since very ordinarily done.

Berry did enlarge on his merit in refusing to stay, when invited by the merchants. Besides what he might have had to have carried home, money, if he would have stayed, and made his ship a store-ship for the Spaniards, to slink their money on board till they could get it on shore, he would have made the best part of 10,000*l.* as young De Ruyter afterwards did. He made his ship a store-ship, at a quarter per cent, till he was almost as deeply laden with plate as a collier.

Sir Martin Westcombe hath given me several useful papers relating to the difference between

him and Captain Elmer, about carying the King's letters to Tangier, the ungovernableness of commanders abroad, and their preferring their own pleasure and profit to the King's service.

The like he hath done by papers, very worthy noting, on the late ill conduct of Shovel, in striking to the Spanish admiral. He farther tells me, Shovel did not make good his pretence for orders for his stay in port till Sunday, for he stayed several days after he had struck to the Spaniard; and after that Sunday, to take in more money. He says also, that Shovel had notice touching the Spanish admiral's intentions, from several merchants of our nation, before Sir M. Westcombe, by letter, told him of it.

This Spanish admiral is covetous, and hath this employment to make his fortune. It was, no doubt, his intent, on pretext of Shovel's not striking, to use violence. In which case, all must have been forfeited; nor could our merchants have owned it, nor complained of what they suffered.

Such as now is this Conde de Aguilar, was heretofore the Duc de Veraguas, admiral of the Armada, about 1675, a little before the rupture between Spain and France, while matters were yet doubtful. The St. Jago, of between thirty and forty guns, had been a merchant-ship of St. Malo, that was said to have got from the French king, on some special occasion, a commission as

a man-of-war. This ship coming into the port where a fleet was newly come in, was known to have taken in a great quantity of money, as Shovel, having lain here a great while on no other errand, was publicly known to have done.

The Admiral sent for the French Consul, not as now, to take occasion of falling out on the business of saluting, but plainly to take notice of this ship's violating the laws of this country in taking in plate. He therefore told the Consul he was resolved to have an account of it by visiting the ship, and that he had two or three ships here in readiness, which he would order to visit her. The Consul insisted that, by the treaty, the ship was not to be visited. The Admiral insisted that his master's laws were not to be broken, therefore she should be visited. The Consul sent this notice privately to the captain, as Sir M. Westcombe did here.

Whereas, it was generally believed, the Admiral neither expected nor designed any more, than to have his mouth stopped with a present of a thousand dollars; neither the Consul, nor the Captain gave way to any such thought. The Captain would stand upon his refusal to be visited, believing, after all, the Spaniard would not dare to attempt it. But as he was at dinner in the town, at a Frenchman's house, being informed that two or three ships were placed by his sides, he presently rose, and in his way meeting

a friend, who asked what haste he was in, he answered, he was going to die. So, like a stout fellow, he went on board.

The Spaniards began, and were answered with small shot, followed with great on both sides. Many were killed; on the Spaniards, particularly, the eldest son of the Prince de Montesarche, and others of very good quality. On the French side, the French Captain, whether killed or no, was taken up drowned, after his ship, (said to be by a train laid by order of the Captain,) had taken fire, blew up, and sunk to the bottom with all her wealth. The Spaniards were so devilish, as to kill in cold blood the poor French swimming for their lives. The Chaplain, particularly, though of their own religion, was run through the back, and killed in the water.

Of this ship, the tops of the masts stood in the sea for two or three years after. Some money was recovered, though not much. This, by authority from the King, one did undertake at his own charge, giving the King of Spain such a share of his profit. But the proprietors, the French, never had a farthing, nor durst own their loss. This is the story, confirmed by Mr. Hodges, and just the parallel of the present case of our merchants, if Shovel had not struck. Having on board this money, and hopes of receiving more, (as he did afterwards,) was probably the reason that he chose rather to sacrifice

the King his master's honour, than, by following the advice of the Consul and others, to venture the loss of his own private profit in the loss of the merchants' money. This, he must have certainly done, if he had not struck.

It is fit to be remembered how Sir M. Westcombe's and Erlsman's complaint to my Lord in England, against Captain Elmer, (whereof Sir M. Westcombe hath given me a copy in the forementioned papers,) was taken up by my Lord Arlington, (Elmer having been his page, and being a gentleman,) in terms too high for these men to withstand; yet with such a reserve of words of regard to the King's service, as to justify my Lord. Such a help, a poor seaman that had such a complaint could never have found, but must have been undone by it.

February 29.—It is worth reflection, how unfortunate the Spaniards have been to this day in their naval undertakings with their Armadas, and as much this last year as any. In the Straits, all the ships have parted, and put in, some to Malaga and Alicant, and others to Gibraltar; not daring to come home to Cadiz, out of their apprehensions of us, for affronts lately done us at sea with our two Captains. Their men, also, by their nastiness becoming sickly, many of them, this day, were thus brought home in my sight to Cadiz. As many as have been able ran away, from ill-usage on board by military officers and

soldiers, with no pay when they came home. It is, I say, worthy of reflection what this year's Armada hath done, but given two public affronts to two of our King's ships, (Shovel's and Elmer's,) and offered a third, wisely prevented by the courage and discretion of the Lieutenant of the Foresight.

Mr. Gardener says, he advised Shovel, who is his friend, to go out of the bay. Shovel would not believe the Admiral would do what he said he would; adding he was a very choleric man. The whole town of Cadiz were provoked against the English, that they alone refused to salute the Spanish flag. All other nations, even men-of-war of Holland and Hamburgh, saluted, and two ships, (all,) of French; while not only our men-of-war refused, but also our merchant-men.

Mr. Gardener would have it thought, what was done more lately at Malaga to the Foresight, was not by the Admiral, but by the town, that could not bear their flag should not be saluted by us. But it is most plain it must have been by the Admiral, for none but he and one ship more of his fleet was there. He sent out the other ship after the Foresight, to the mighty honour of her Lieutenant.

The Armada of Spain, I also learn by this discourse, was sent to make a show to the Pope, to countenance his having still his *Cruzada*. It hath only been at Naples, without doing any ser-

vice, as designed, against the Infidels. Many stranger-seamen were on it, particularly English; invited by a little advance-money, and nothing else.

Mr. Hodges tells me, every man makes friends to get into the Galleons and Flota, because they are there duly paid. But in the Armada, even for boatswains and gunners, they are glad to take strangers of any nation. For ordinary men, they have some Irish they employ everywhere, giving them some ready-money, and, at the end of the voyage, good promises.

Captains Wooley and Kingsland, Merchant-Commanders, who dined with us one day at Mr. Hodges's told us how unruly are our seamen in the merchant-service. If a master do not humour them, they will ordinarily turn Papists, thereby, to make the master to be forced by the Church to pay them their wages. In two or three months, it may be when they come to another port, they again become Protestants, and some of them will be Turks. Of the latter, they gave an instance of their own knowledge. Kingsland told of a master, one Keach, well known to Mr. Hodges, of whose company [crew] no less than twenty, (he being a somewhat severe man,) last summer, turned Roman Catholics. This is very frequent. In a few months, they again get away and turn Protestants.

MR. SLINGAR TO PEPYS.

WORTHY SIR, Seville, February 29, 1684.

THE good news, yours of the 23rd current brought from port, of your being got well thither was very welcome; for by the weather we had here, I was afraid you would have had a longer passage. 'Twas well you contrived so relishing a bit as the Cartuja, for a farewell to Spain; else, by what you found here, you must needs have carried away a very bitter one. We begin now to discover land; and if it were your conveniency, I could wish you would take up a resolution to go by land home. Then we should show you Seville in another dress.

We have here a discourse, as if my Lord Dartmouth, (now he hath finished his work at Tangier,) will spend some time on that coast, to conclude a peace with Sallee.

Since your departure, no boat hath gone hence, but will in a day or two; then I shall send the maps, &c.

Now the sun begins to discover itself, we walk the streets with a great deal of danger, houses dropping down daily. I am told six thousand are, by order of the city, commanded to be pulled down. All the gentlemen who had the honour of your good company here, give their humble service, and I, particularly, offer mine. Be pleas-

ed to assure yourself that, if capable of serving you, your commands will be most acceptable to,

Worthy Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ROGER SLINGAR.

My humble service to Mr. Hewer. If you resolve to embark, pray God send you a good voyage.

PEPYS'S JOURNAL OF HIS VOYAGE FROM TANGIER TO ENGLAND.

MARCH 5-15, 1683-4.—Sailing out of Tangier Bay, my Lord Dartmouth, of his own accord, noticed to me largely the loss of discipline in the fleet. Coming now but as a passenger, he did not think it of any use to trouble the Commanders, and it would but create him enemies at home. But this business of Cadiz must be taken away. There was no satisfying Commanders, or the King's having any service from them, while that remained. For that reason he propounded Lisbon for the place of refitting, and hoped I would join in looking over all the general instructions, to get them corrected and improved.

He says, he hath been forced (as I have seen) to make orders for settling superiority and salutes, Commanders, when abroad, being all princes and independent; every one taking a merchant-man's salute to himself, and other disorders. He designs to supply two or three gross defects in the sailing instructions; no signals, in several cases, being provided. He, also, observed how Herbert

lay nine months in port, with his flag up, and a lieutenant to command.

He prays me, also, to join with him, when we come home, to show the Duke of York the necessity of again taking up the navy; he apprehending Grafton, especially Herbert being now there, and unwilling to be dispossessed. He tells me how Herbert fell in with and wrote to Shaftesbury, and did turn away his chaplain, Haslewood, for not drinking Shaftesbury's health; with some very foul words said by him, of his not caring who was uppermost, or to that purpose, so he was provided for.

My Lord Dartmouth told me, with some trouble, how last night, (Mar. 4,) he was fain to send for Sir W. Booth to his cabin, to chide him for opinionateness, about continuing in the night so long on a tack towards the Spanish coast, when we were turning it, off the mouth of the Straits; and this, not only against his opinion, but the Master's. Thereupon I observed, how far the answering for navigating the ship was yet to settle in the navy. He answered it was so, and no Commander ought to command anything out of the hand of the Master, but at the hazard of being accountable; which I told him would be hard to prove against the Captain, but would be flung on the Master, or Pilot. He told me, as an instance of the care of Sir E. Spragg, that once on my Lord's going to sea, he desired to

have Captain Swanly, (a known able man he was acquainted with,) his Master; telling Spragg, (or Spragg told him,) it was well, the man being a good man. But, says he, I would not have you propose him; but I will do it, and bring it about for you. While you live, keep yourself free as you can from answering for the management of your ship, for, soon or late, it may prove dangerous to you.

He, again, opened to me the reason of his meddling no more in what he intended at coming out, of regulating the fleet, looking into faults, and correcting them, he being to be here but a little while, and he sees that a strict hand, for a great while together, must do the business. He considered, besides, there is not a man in the Admiralty, he believes, that would not be glad of any miscarriage he should make, and find fault with whatever he did, joining with the Captains he should provoke in doing it. Therefore, he will leave it all for them to do. At the same time, he and I agree that none but the Duke of York can be strong enough to set things right; and that if he do not take the Admiralty again into his hand, the navy of England must be lost.

The King's own son, Grafton, being the top of all, cannot be put by in time of action by anybody else; and hath, it may be, a young favourite under him, as Captain, and then what can come

of it. The King, too, is so fond of him, on the score of the sea, that my Lord thinks it may be dangerous even for the Duke himself to be bold with Grafton, as he was with my Lord Sandwich, and could not afterwards be the same even with Prince Rupert, though the King loved him not, but looked on him as a madman. Of so ill-consequence is it to make an ill-choice of a great officer by sea or land, and so unsafe for a good man to serve under them, as even Lord Dartmouth owns under these Admirals. He seems to depend much on my joining him, in opening these things plainly to the Duke of York, and exciting him to think of some remedy, by taking it again upon himself.

Crossness of weather, unquietness of commanders, distance from home, and want of places of accommodation abroad, these show the weight of the office of an Admiral of the fleet; and how different and superior a talent it requires to the command of a single ship. So that it seems mightily worth my trouble to collect special instances to show the importance of a good choice, and difficulty of making one. Which puts me in mind of Sir W. Raleigh's advice for laying down in writing the discipline of the sea as divers have done that of the land.

The like, of the great difference between commanding a small or a large ship, which my Lord frequently observes, (I know not how justly,)

concerning Sir W. Booth. He owns him, at the same time, for a very knowing and active seaman, and brave fellow, the fittest man of England to command a flying squadron of small frigates against the pirates of Sallee, being a thing he hath most practised; but will not allow him the knowledge of handling a great ship. That calls, in managing and navigating, for more consideration.

March 7.—Lord Dartmouth again, of his own accord, noticed his reason for being no more severe in reforming order and discipline in the fleet; being to stay with them but a little while, the Admiralty being inclined to encourage complaint against him, rather than his proceedings in complaint and correction of anybody. He, besides, observed something Spragg had said, that our masters, the King and Duke of York, were good at giving good orders, and encouragement to their servants in office to be strict in keeping good order, but were never found stable enough to support officers in the performance of their orders. By which no man was safe in doing them service.

Observing the mischief of going to Cadiz for money, he said, I must join him in overthrowing it. He doubted whether the King and Duke of York would ever understand their interest, thinking it but a slight thing to give commanders the benefit of doing themselves good by carrying money, not being sensible how dearly the King's

purse pays for it, of which I undertake to make them sensible. Berry himself hath this day bid his lieutenant find an occasion to intimate to him the bad condition of his ship, and wants his order, to being permitted to go again to Cadiz, notwithstanding his having been there twice since his coming to Tangier Bay.

My Lord concluded that he was weary of it; and were he to stay abroad, would never endure it, it being impossible to satisfy anybody in this point. The more he did, he was never more sure of obliging them, but offending others. Therefore, when he came home, he would content himself with his own office, [of Ordnance,] in which there were not many to vie with or envy him; and never more trouble himself with the sea, till a time came when he might be useful and able considerably to serve the King.

With Mr. Hewer, on ship-board. My Lord Dartmouth took observation on the present Admiralty estimates and projects, and the *medium* of the navy. Being thereby led to discourse on the present Admiralty retrenchments since their time, and the folly thereof, it is most clear to me that, in this age and all past, both in the navy and other offices, the effects of ignorance and corruption run in a circle; and return at their proper period to the same pass, corruption spoiling, or negligence rendering good institutions in office useless. This, by the plain ill effects, dis-

covering itself some time or other to the new men brought in, whose ignorance, in their pretence to reformation, led them to put down offices as useless in themselves, not knowing the true ground of those offices, and that it is only the negligence or corruption of the present possessors that renders them so. When those offices are done, and those reformers in them better understand their business, or others that follow them find a defect from the want of such or such offices of control, or otherwise, then they propose setting up the same again. Not knowing or remembering that they were heretofore, they value themselves on their inventions and caution herein for the King's profit. This, in time, is again neglected, and good rules forgotten, then extinguished, then wanted, and set up again, and so in a round.

1684. March 29. *Saturday.*—In so fair weather, with so fair a wind, immediately on a fair observation, and clear sounding at sixty-five fathoms, 49 degrees 34 minutes latitude, strange the disagreements among our navigators about the entrance into our Channel! My Lord and Mr. Phillips were very positive that we were shot to the eastward of Scilly; while Sir W. Booth, with the master and mates, were of opinion we were yet to the westward: one part apprehensive of our running on the French coast, and the other, on the English: some for lying by all night, and

others for sailing forwards, as we did, due east. The disagreement, it is plain, arises principally from the disagreement of the charts, as differing one from another ten minutes in latitude, and eleven degrees in longitude. Besides apparent difference in their judgments of leeward-way, setting of the current and tide, ship's way, by log-line, throwing of the lead, allowance for the variation, colour and texture of the earth brought up by the sounding-lead, difference, in some minutes, by their observations with their quadrants, so as nothing appears certain among them.

I observe, from our own practice this voyage, that we are very solicitous in our disputes and opinions, touching our draughts and log-lines and things, when we are at a loss for our ways, finding and suspecting faults in every of them, and comparing one man's notes, and books, and notions, with another's; which would be of good use if we would improve, by comparing and drawing inferences, when the issue hath decided which is wrong and which is right: but soon as we see land, all difference is forgotten, or any desire of recollecting the truth. On the contrary, everybody endeavours to make himself thought to have been in the right; also, not thinking they shall ever again come to the same loss in the same place. Hence the science of navigation lies so long without more improvement.

Lord Dartmouth is mighty full of it, that the King of France designs, by his late and present dealings with Algiers, to make himself master of the Mediterranean, making the Turks his friends, and thereby enemies to us and others. Then, to make himself master of Flanders, thereby of Ostend, and so will plague us with privateers, till he comes to master Holland. Then he will come to us, which, he and I agree, he keeps under his thumb, to set about when he pleases. This, by his chargeable increase of navigation, and breeding seamen even in merchant-ships, he certainly aims at. Therefore, against that time, he and I should now, and from time to time, be thinking what to do, in keeping our force at sea in good order.

Lord Dartmouth tells a story worth inquiring into, how Sir Francis Drake did insist, and prevail, for my Lord of Lincoln, then admiral, being put out of employment for standing by and seeing Sir Richard Greenvill lost, without helping him:* also, desiring the higher family of the Drakes, of his country, to admit him to bear their arms. They denying it, the Queen hear-

* Sir Richard Greenville was vice-admiral under Lord Howard, sent to America (1591) to intercept the Spanish galleons. Sir Richard separated from the squadron, fell in with the enemy's fleet of fifty-two sail, which he repulsed fifteen times, and died on board the Spanish fleet three days after, covered with wounds. Of his ship, nothing remained but a battered hulk.

ing it, did tell him he should not be beholden to them, for she would give him a better coat than their own, and so gave him the globe, which, to this day, he and his family bear.*

* "The Queen took up the quarrel, and gave Sir Francis a new coat, thus blazoned: *Sable, a fess wavy between two pole-stars Argent;* and for his crest, *a ship on a globe, under reef,* held by a cable, with a hand out of the clouds: over it this motto, *Auxilio Divino;* underneath, *Sic parvis magna,* in the rigging whereof is hung up by the heels, *a wivern Gules,* the arms of Sir Bernard Drake. Her Majesty's kindness, however," adds Dr. Campbell, "did not extend beyond the grave. She suffered his brother Thomas, whom he had made his heir, to be prosecuted for a pretended debt to the Crown."

In a letter from Sir Francis Drake to the Earl of Essex, dated Plymouth, Feb. 16, 1587, referring to his attack on Cadiz, he says:—

"Good my Lord, tear my letters, and hold my word as a rock to build on. For, as the Lord liveth, my Lord of Essex hath and shall have a great interest in Francis Drake. For, my good Lord, my conscience and soul beareth me witness that there is some part to be played in the church of God, by your honour and myself, if we can hold this secret, for secrecy at the beginning is the assurance of our victory, which God will bring to pass for his glory."

PEPYS TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

My Lord, Saturday night, April 6, 1684.

Since mine to your lordship, this morning, by express, I have, among other inquiries, found means of letting myself into a particular and ample discourse of our Tangier affairs with my Lord Sunderland. I find him so far from what I had entertained, being unfriendlily inclined towards your lordship, that nobody so openly avows the counsel on which the work you have been doing was originally founded, and your conduct in doing it, as he does; and this with a plainness and earnestness so great, that I cannot doubt his sincerity.

I have also made it my business to visit the Exchange, for discovering how we are talked of there. Abating what some fanatics, out of jealousy of the Court, can but forbear wishing, concerning the forces we have brought home, I do not find any charging the least crime on your lordship in the whole matter, saving your doing that at all, which, they think, never a servant the King hath but yourself could have done. This is really the style I generally hear them speak of it in. So that I see not the least reason for you or your friends bestowing one thought more upon what the malicious folly of two or three idle fellows have thus unsuccessfully laboured, to lessen your great merits.

Wherefore I hope you will put in execution soon as may be the orders my Lord of Rochester told us last night should be speedily despatched from the King, for your attending him at Court, where you shall be waited on with the utmost respect by, My Lord,

Your lordship's most humble and most affectionate servant,

S. PEPYS.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO PEPYS.

DEAR SIR, Spithead, April 6, 1684.

I RECEIVED your very kind letter this morning. Though I can never sufficiently acknowledge all your favours in this whole voyage, and the great assistance I must ever own you have been to me in this service, yet my true thankfulness and gratitude to you shall never be wanting. I hope you found his Majesty satisfied in your service, otherwise I can never hope he will be in mine.

I am overjoyed to receive the account you give of the King's and Duke's kindness; and I must beg of you to improve it what you can for me, and not suffer any of my little enemies to do me injury with my masters in my absence, though that shall not be long after I come to the Downs, where it will be absolutely necessary I should go, to dispose rightly of the rest of the forces,

and hope to be under sail to-morrow morning early.

Sir, I am
Your most obliged, faithful, humble servant,
DARTMOUTH.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO PEPYS.

DEAR SIR, Downs, April 8, 1684.

THIS is only to let you know I am arrived here, and again to return my thanks and acknowledgments for all your kindness.

'Tis some ease to my heart the Greyhound is at last arrived. I hope my letters will be delivered as if they had come sooner to justify my proceedings; and, pray, let all the slaves be carried in a body to the King, to return their thanks for his grace and favour to them. I had rather this were done before I come, that after so many ill impressions have been made to my prejudice, some may be likewise so, at last, to my good.

The Admiralty have already been playing off tricks with me, endeavouring to lessen my command, though, I hope, it is likely to continue but very short under them. However, I thought it too tame not to give them an answer, a copy whereof I have inclosed to you, desiring you would let the Duke know of their proceedings so unprecedented, which, I apprehend, were procured by Brisbane on purpose to put a slight on

me. But I hope the Duke will not think it for his service to let me be quite thrown off from the fleet, now he hath an opportunity to serve himself, and protect my future pretensions, in great measure at least; for, on Lord Brounker's death,* he hath an opportunity to bring you to the Admiralty; and if my Lord Nottingham can help out Brisbane, Mr. Sheres, with your assistance, may again put some life into the sea-service. I have written to the Duke. If I have left any part of his favour, I hope he will think of it. Dear Sir, I am

Your most obliged, faithful, humble servant,

DARTMOUTH.

MR. HEWER TO PEPYS.

Downs, on board his Majesty's ship, the Grafton,
HONOURED SIR, April 8, 1684.

YESTERDAY, about noon, we set sail from Portsmouth, and arrived here in the Downs about noon this day, where we found his Majesty's ships, the Falcon, Diamond, and Dartmouth.

My Lord has not met with any orders here; but at Portsmouth, Captain Wheeler waited on my Lord with an order from the Admiralty Board, to direct him to come up the river Thames. They wrote my Lord a letter of no

* April 5, 1684, aged 64.

great moment, after the date of their order to Wheeler, without taking any notice of it; a disrespect and breach of the discipline of the navy in the highest nature. It has provoked my Lord to resent it in such a letter as, though the style will not be well pleasing to them, yet it will make them sensible of their error or ignorance, and learn them how to behave themselves better towards a person of that worth and knowledge as Lord Dartmouth is, whose services, I presume, are better known to his Majesty and his Royal Highness than to suffer him to be so treated.

I presume, therefore, my Lord would not take amiss your communicating this matter to his Royal Highness by showing the enclosed copy of his letter to the Admiralty. It does so fully, in all respects, notice all circumstances, that I need not enlarge thereon further than to lament the misfortune of the navy, which I never expect to see again in order until his Royal Highness thinks fit to take it into his care, which all that wish well to the King, his honour, or government, ought to advise and promote all that may be.

Pray give my most affectionate duty to my mother, and services to all my friends. Hoping now to see you in a few days, I remain

Your ever faithful and obedient servant,

WM. HEWER.

Mr. Atkins presents you his very humble ser-

vice. My Lord being now writing to you, designs to send you the copy of his letter. For despatch sake, I have let my Lord have that which I provided to send you.*

SIR PETER PETT TO PEPYS.†

SIR, Sunday, May 11, 1684.

I JUST now find the use of my hand, and humbly, as your due, give you the first fruits. I enclose Sir R. Lloyd's report about the pestiferous patent, and almost all that I spake of the same. 'Tis written by an ill-spelling *amanuensis*. I entreat you, in your perusal, to take no notice of anything therein as if ever intended by me to be blotted out, but to suppose a *stet* written on every *dele*. How it came to be blotted, *de facto*, to humour the caprice of one of the Admiralty, I

* In the Court-book of the Clothworkers' Company is the following entry:—

"1684, April 15.—Samuel Pepys, Esq. appointed to attend" (with others of the Court) "on his Majesty at Hampton Court, with a petition relative to the *Quo Warranto*, brought against this Company."

On "July 4, 1678," it had been "ordered that the arms of the Honourable Samuel Pepys, Esq. Secretary to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, this Company's present Master, should be set up in one of their Hall-windows, with such an inscription as his honour shall give directions for."

† "Accompanying papers of Transactions on Lord Clarendon's patent of King's Waste."—MS.

shall, to your diversion, tell you, when I have next the honour to wait on you.

There remains about half a sheet I spake to the Admiralty, which cannot be found for you till I have the use of my feet; nor the copy of the reasons of the Court of Aldermen against the patent: a copy of the shipwrights' I enclose. The Trinity-House's you may see there from Mr. Veagleman; and perhaps the City's.

I long to be able to wait on you or Mr. Hewer, to impart somewhat that may perhaps bring in a good revenue to Trinity-House.

God bless them and you; and, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

This Sunday. P. PETT.

MR. WARNER TO PEPYS.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR, March 11, 1685.

HERE is a faithful account of the loadstone, &c. as I took it, Saturday.

The stone, naked, weighed one ounce, *fere* three drachms. The stone, with brass and steel armour, weighs three ounces, *fere* four drachms. The anchor weighed fifty-seven ounces. Two tin halfpence and two tin farthings, laid on the anchor, while hanging at the stone, weighed one ounce, *fere* two drachms.

Monday, I filed away a little of the anchor, to

make way for the weight of the scale. I have not since weighed them together. I am unwilling to take it asunder, because of the trouble and difficulty to make it again fit so well together.

If your honour shall not esteem this account satisfactory, or think the stone, at five guineas, too dear, please to return it. I shall not account my time mispent, so I may continue to have your Honour's favour and well-wishes; for I know 'tis my best and only interest to be accounted, as in all humility I am, your honour's

Most obedient servant,

JOHN WARNER.

MR. JAMES HOUBLON TO PEPYS.

SIR, March 16, 1686.

THE Jerusalem, Captain Daniel, is gone from *Livorno*, (Leghorn,) loads at Gallipoli, and may be here in May.

Herewith, you have a letter from Amsterdam, about the translation of the Dutch book of Ship-Carpentry, &c. It contains, five hundred and sixty pages, or one hundred and forty printed sheets, which, at thirty stivers per sheet, amounts to about nineteen pounds. Besides, the prints are to be procured. Please to consider hereof, and give me directions. I am expecting an answer,

with which I shall acquaint you, about your nephew's boarding at Leyden.

The report concerning the loss of a rich English ship from Turkey proves a mistake: it was of two French merchant-ships.

I hope, Sir, you will appoint some fish-day* to eat ling, that you may be as merry with us as we were last year (I thank you for it) with you. We continue well, I thank God! and hope the like with you.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

JAMES HOUBLON.

SIR PHINEAS PETT† TO PEPYS.

SIR, Chatham Dock, December 2, 1686.

I HEARTILY thank you for yours of yesterday, and did not think it needful to give you any further trouble relating to my standing for Parliament-man for Rochester, till the time drew

* In Lent.

† Pepys, under "August 23, 1660," referring to his "several businesses at the Admiralty chamber," says: "It was moved that Phineas Pett, of Chatham, kinsman to the Commissioner, should be suspended his employment till he had answered some articles put in against him; as, that he should formerly say, that the King was a bastard, and his mother a strumpet." The answer was, no doubt, satisfactory, Phineas Pett being described, in a note, as "an eminent ship-builder employed by the Admiralty."

somewhat nearer, that what might be thought fit, through your favour, to be said on my behalf to some persons here, to further me in that matter, (as you were pleased to hint when I last desired it,) might thus be fresher in their memories. I have since had so good encouragement, not only from the Mayor and his brethren, but also from the majority of the freemen, that I have no reason to doubt meeting with good success. Therefore, I do not incline to lay aside the thoughts of it, since his Majesty has been pleased to allow it, and you are so kind as to encourage me therein.

As to the strong applications you hear of, and parties made for Sir Roger Twisden, I cannot find his interest so great as in the least to suspect my own.* Neither have I any cause to mistrust the Governor of Upner's † utmost endeavours, he having very lately given me, with his hand, in presence of several of our friends, such large assurance of his best assistances. He did before speak to my brother Gregory to go with him to Sir Roger Twisden's house, to dissuade Sir Roger from appearing any further in that matter. Neither have I, by God's blessing! reason to suspect my want of health's hindering my attendance in Parliament, that the King, or the place I may be

* He, however, succeeded, and became colleague of Sir John Banks, Bart. at the election (1688) which now called forth these "notes of preparation."

† Kent. — *Villare Anglicé.*

chosen for, might thereby be disappointed of receiving the service expected from me, having, I thank God! in pretty good measure, save a fit of the gout, otherwise enjoyed my health since coming to this place, and before, for some years, being very healthy. Therefore, I find it but reasonable to stand by my first purposes, and most heartily thank you for your kind promise of assisting me in his Majesty's continuing his recommendation of me, in which I most humbly entreat your favour, when you shall think it seasonable, as also my Lord Treasurer's and Lord Dartmouth's, and whom else you shall think fit; and, with humble submission to your better judgment, the sooner the better.

On the application of some of the aldermen of Rochester a few days since, I made bold to give you the trouble of two or three lines in behalf of that city, by the hands of Mr. Mayor, acquainting you of the prejudice it would be, if a market should be brought to Chatham, which, I hope, ere this, hath been delivered, not doubting your friendship to that ancient corporation.

Most humbly begging pardon for this trouble, I remain,

Worthy Sir,

Your truly obliged and most obedient servant,

PH. PETT.

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL TO PEPYS.

SIR, King's Weston, December 11, 1686.

I AM expecting my son from London. His next step will be to Oxford, where, whatever he may learn, I hope he will never forget his own or my obligations to you. I acknowledge them to be very many; more, perhaps, than you think I know. Though you never be otherwise paid than by cordial wishes, yet if you but believe I would do it better if it were in my power, you will make me more, if possible,

Sir,

Your truly affectionate and most humble servant,

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

SIR PHINEAS PETT TO PEPYS.

SIR, Chatham, December 12, 1686.

I RECEIVED yours of the 6th instant, and return most hearty thanks for the continuance of your kindness in acquainting his Majesty, and my noble lords you mention, with what I wrote the 2nd instant touching my election at Rochester, by communicating my said letter. I am very glad his Majesty was so graciously pleased to declare his satisfaction in continuing my pretence to this election, and leaving you to give what further-

ance you could, by recommending it, in his name, to the Mayor and his brethren, and to those officers and servants in the yard that are in a capacity of giving me any furtherance. My Lord Treasurer and Lord Dartmouth were pleased to promise honouring me with their tokens of friendship on this occasion when I should desire it.

Having very lately received an invitation by several of the aldermen of that city, on purpose to return me their thanks, in the name of the city, for the late kindness I had done them by using my interest in the business of Chatham Market, which they did in a very hearty manner, assuring me of their standing by me in this affair. At the same time, they acquainted me that Sir Roger Twisden had very lately made applications for their favours, who were pleased to give him a very cool reception, plainly telling him the services I had done, and might do their city. The small countenance he met with on visiting the place was only from some few of the rabble, Not finding things ripe, I most heartily pray your favour in giving me what further assistance you can, which you kindly promised. I humbly propose the following method: —

1. Your letter, recommending it in his Majesty's name, to the mayor and his brethren.

2. Your particular letter to Mr. Mayor, an ancient officer of the navy, though at present unconcerned therein.

3. My Lord Treasurer's letter to the Mayor and aldermen.

4. Lord Dartmouth's letters to Governor Myners, and Mr. Cheltenham, storekeeper of the ordnance here.

5. That his Majesty would speak to my Lord Bishop of Rochester,* for his letter to the Dean and Chapter, which, I am assured by my friends here, will be of very great importance to me, by at least fifty voices.

6. Sir John Bankes's † letter to the Mayor and aldermen; as also his distinct letter to Mr. Mayor and Mr. Alderman Cobham.

7. Your letter to his Majesty's officers and servants of the Yard and navy here.

Which being done, I pray that all the said letters may be sent under cover to me, in order

* Not unsuitably addressed on such an occasion, if Granger has justly said of Thomas Sprat, who became Bishop of Rochester in 1684, that, it appears from his writings as well as his conduct, that his principles were far from being stubborn."

† M. P. for Rochester in five Parliaments, 1678-1688. — This was probably the "opulent merchant residing in Lincoln's-Inn Fields," to whom Pepys (Feb. 19, 1664) was indebted for the following anecdote: —

"There was due to him and Alderman Mico 64,000*l.* from the Dutch, for injury done to them in the East-Indies. After the peace (1654), they delaying to pay the money, Oliver sent them word, that if they did not pay by such a day, he would grant letters-of-marque to those merchants against them. By which, they were so fearful of him, they did presently pay the money, every farthing."

to my delivering them with my own hands, and with the speed that conveniently may be.

I was advised, at my last attending the aldermen, that the common sort of freemen (I having before treated the aldermen) expect the same kindness, which I intend some time in the Christmas holidays, as may best suit Sir John Bankes's occasions, who, I hope, through your favour, may be prevailed with to countenance me with his company, which will greatly conduce to my advantage. Therefore, I pray you to make known my humble request for his favour therein; and that he will appoint the time most proper for his conveniency, of which I should be glad to have notice, in order to providing venison for the freemen. If your weightier affairs would permit your gracing us with your good company, I should be more happy.

Begging your pardon for the trouble I presume to give you in this matter, I remain,

Sir,

Your ever obliged and

Most obedient servant,

PH. PETT.

I think it will be convenient, with humble submission to your more knowing judgment, to have my letters with me before I treat the freemen.

LADY WYBORNE TO PEPYS.*

EVER HONOURED SIR, Bombay, Jan. 1, 1686-7.

THIS being New-Year's Day, I heartily wish you a happy new year, and many. By the bearer, Captain Oglethorn, I have sent a small acknowledgment,† and beg your honour's acceptance, as a New-year's gift. I desired to have signified my respect in another nature, but am prevented, the China ships not being arrived.

Sir, to give you an account of my disappointments would be too much trouble to your honour. Know, only, how that thing both yourself and my husband believed to be of advantage to him, hath been the only thing that hath done him injury; otherwise he might have had several thousand pounds in hand. Instead, the Company writes, in their public letter, that not one farthing be stopped for the King; and by their next, they question not but to have his commission recalled. They have ordered my husband to be

* Accompanying a New-Year's gift, and notifying the unsuccessfulness of the removal thither [to Bombay] from ill usage they have from the East-India Company, and earnestly praying for some relief from hence by his favour.—MS.

† "A velvet carpet," thus acknowledged:—"I have received from Lady Katherine Wyborne one parcel, said to contain one carpet, which I promise to deliver to the Right Honourable Samuel Pepys, Esq. secretary of the Admiralty, when God sends me and the ship sure and safe into the river of Thames.

"Dated at Bombay, 5 Jan. 1687. "Rob. Oglethorp."

judge of the Admiralty Court, but in the next we expect it will be countermanded.

Dear Sir, as you have ever been kind, so I hope length of time and distance will not breed forgetfulness.

Sir, I am very sensible of more weighty affairs daily incumbent on you; but I must beg a share in your thoughts, to keep the King in mind of my husband, that, if it please God Almighty to send us to our native country again, he may be kindly received.

Sir, I dare pawn my life he never will be guilty of that action to bring any reflection on you for your kindness. Sir, it hath been a great trouble to me that I never heard from you since my departure, but live in hopes you are well. None ever did, or shall ever receive it with greater respect.

Sir, I believe my husband hath writ you at large, and so, I think, have I; for which I beg pardon, and hope distance, and my misfortune that I can write no oftener, will speak for me. Sir, I have ten thousand thanks to return you for all your former favours; so beg God Almighty will keep you.

With my most humble service to you, I subscribe myself what I really am, your ever obliged and humble servant, K. WYBORNE.

Pray present my service to Madam and Mr. Hewer.

SIR JOHN WYBORNE TO PEPYS.

EVER HONOURED SIR, Bombay, January 14, 1686-7.

THIS comes by Captain Tyrrel, of his Majesty's ship Phœnix. Hope it will arrive safe, and find you and all good friends in better health than it leaves me and my wife, neither of us being well. My wife's indisposition is occasioned mostly by melancholy; we not finding matters here according to expectation, but much the contrary. Captain Tyrrel will inform you, if God sends him safe home, how he has been treated, and how I am like to fare.

The people of this place pretend abundance of loyalty, but that is all. The greatest part hate anything or any man that belongs to the King; no man being valued here, but those that come out as factors or writers, at five pounds a year salary. You know I did not come out of England on those terms.

The commission his Majesty was pleased to grant, and you to send me, into the Downs, empowering me to collect his moiety of all ships seized, and condemned as prizes, with all goods under the same circumstances, I think will turn to a very small account. Since my arrival, several ships and their goods have been seized and condemned as prizes. I have demanded an account of their produce from Dr. St. John, Judge

of our Admiralty Court, who has been at Surat and Swally ever since I came into this country, and condemned the prizes there. My commission runs, to collect the moiety of such ships or goods as shall be condemned on this island. So they condemn all that is taken at other places.

Sir, I humbly beg you to send me his Majesty's commission, to collect all his said moiety, that are seized on and condemned within the North of India, from Cape Comorin to the Gulf of Persia. My commission from the Company runs so as Vice Admiral of those seas.

Please to let me have authority to call for an account of all forfeitures disposed of at Surat or Swally since the date of my new commission from his Majesty, which may turn to a good account; and I shall not be more hated for bearing this commission than I now am, though getting nothing by it. However, nothing shall trouble me as long as I hear our good Sovereign Lord and Master is in health, and I have so good a friend at Court as you.

This I must say, were I in England again, and knew this place as well as I now do, I would rather plough and thresh for bread, than come Deputy Governor to India The place of itself is well enough; but the people, most of them came out of England broken merchants, or very needy, and generally very proud. The usage Captain Tyrrel had, would have broken many a man's

heart. I am sure I am the worse for seeing it, and could in no way relieve him, but sat down and condoled with him.

This island produces nothing but cocoa-nuts, rice, and salt, which is no rarity, but brings to the Company a good revenue.* Our Captain-General adheres to all stories carried to him, and abundance of ill-men tell him abundance of lies, which cause a misunderstanding between us; but I hope when he comes hither, he will be better satisfied with me than now, and will find out the roguery of some about him and me.

I have not a man on the island to whom I can communicate any secret, but all the country knows it; but with your kind assistance at home, I don't question but all will end well. Sir Josiah Child is very much mistaken in several men here, in whom he puts great confidence.

I pray God Almighty to preserve you in life and good health. With mine and my wife's most humble service to your good self and all friends with you, I am, Dear Sir,

Your Honour's most obedient and ever obliged humble servant,

JOHN WYBORNE.

I am well assured the King has but a few loyal subjects in these parts.

* "They make salt in large quantities, by letting the sea into pits, where the sun evaporates the watery part, while the saline is left behind."—*Cruttwell.*

SIR JOHN WYBORNE TO PEPYS.

DEAR SIR, Bombay, January 14, 1686-7.

I HAVE nothing worthy your acceptance, but have ventured to send by Captain Tyrrel a jasper antonia stone of eight ounces, (very good, I hope: I had it from a Jesuit of Goa, who makes them,) and fifteen fine little birds in a small cage. I have sent you by Mr. John Church, late Chaplain of this place, the finest plain cane I could light of, having put a head on it. He comes home in the Sampson, from Surat, and promises to deliver it.

I beg pardon for sending no better things; but I protest it is not for want of good inclination, but I cannot get anything here. So I beg you to accept the will for the deed, who am, Sir,

Your Honour's most faithful servant,

JOHN WYBORNE.

SIR JOHN WYBORNE TO PEPYS.

Bombay-Fort, January 20, 1686-7.

EVER HONOURED SIR,

THE trouble of this I give you by Mr. John Church, late Chaplain of this island, but too good for us. I think him a very honest good man, and pray your kindness to him. Sir, I have sent you by him a very grave walking-cane, which I beg you to accept, having nothing else I could venture to send.

Captain Tyrrel, of his Majesty's ship Phœnix, has a letter at large for you. Both he and this worthy clergyman can inform you of the affairs of this place, and the behaviour of the people. For swearing, lying, backbiting, and all manner of villainy, it very much outdoes Tangier: but I hope God will bless me and my wife, and send us safe to you in his due time.

My wife's and my prayers to God are for your good health and life.

I am, dear Sir,
Your honour's most faithful and ever
obedient servant,
JOHN WYBORNE.

MR. ABRAHAM TILGHMAN TO PEPYS.

HONOURABLE SIR, Deptford, February 10, 1686-7.

IN all dutiful obedience, I return your honour my most humble thanks for that great favour you condescended to vouchsafe me, by owning your acceptance of my yesterday's letter, acquainting you with the afflicted state of the Commissioner,* and his mourning family, through the decease of his lady; an honour, Sir, which I would in no reason expect, for only doing my duty.

In obedience to your honour's commands, by

* S. Michell, Mrs. Pepys's brother.

the first opportunity I could discern of any relaxation of that grief he groans under, I delivered your letter; and have in command to say, he returns your honour millions of thanks for your great kindness and generous favour therein expressed, which he will own to his life's end, and endeavour strictly to observe and obey those excellent advices you are pleased to administer. Which having said, a deluge of tears again overwhelming him, he could add no more than humbly to beg your honour's pardon that he cannot at this time farther enlarge.

With great submission, I subscribe,

Your honour's most obedient,
and most humble servant,
ABRAHAM TILGHMAN.

LADY TUKE* TO PEPYS.

SIR, Wednesday Evening, March 2, 1686-7.

I SHOWED your answer to Mr. Dies, who is so well satisfied with your excuse that he hopes Signor Cefache will find it as reasonable as he

* Probably wife, or widow, of Colonel Tuke, whom Pepys mentions (Jan. 5, 1663) as having "made or translated" *The Adventures of Five Hours.* Lord Braybrooke describes the Colonel, as Sir George Tuke of Pressing Temple, Essex, Mr. Evelyn's cousin. His Lordship adds, that "the play was taken from the original of the Spanish poet Calderon."

Pepys in another place, (Aug. 20, 1666,) thus aggrandizes the Spaniard by a very unexpected comparison:— "To

does, and be willing another day next week to give you an hour or two to hear him sing. He also designs to bring Batiste with him, to play on the harpsichord, I having told him you have the best in England, and are a great lover of music. He told me, he should think himself happy if he could by any endeavours contribute to your satisfaction, it not being in his power to acknowledge the great favour you have done him as he ought. To-morrow morning he will send for your letter to the Captain, and is extremely pleased you will be so kind as to recommend the young gentleman, by word of mouth.

If your business give leave, the beginning of next week, to hear Signor Cefache, pray give me notice, that he may be prepared; but do not fancy (as some do) that he expects a present, for I would never propose so mercenary a thing, did I believe he had such a thought. You may have the pleasure to hear him sing, (without putting yourself to charge,) in other places, and I should be ashamed to put an obligation on him at your cost. I only designed it as a diversion for yourself and your friends, of which number I hope to make one; for I must ever own myself,

Your most obliged humble servant,

M. Tuke.

"To Deptford by water, reading Othello, Moor of Venice, which I ever heretofore esteemed a mighty good play, but having so lately read 'The Adventures of Five Hours,' it seems a mean thing."—*Pepys's Diary.*

SIR PHILIP CARTERET TO PEPYS.

SIR, Jersey, April 11, 1687.

I CANNOT sufficiently express the sense I have of the honour received by your obliging letter, but find myself still more indebted, the more I endeavour to show my gratitude. Your thanks are so far beyond the small present* I made bold to send you, that all the carps and partridges in this island cannot deserve them. Therefore, the least I can do is, to offer you all the interest I have in them, and endeavour, when the season permits, to send you so many partridges, that you may reserve some for yourself, and present some to the King, if you think them worthy his acceptance, though I dare not take that liberty to desire you to do it in my name.

I should not have neglected writing by Captain Robinson, if I could have collected anything relating to the naval affairs of France, worthy communicating, all things being so quiet, that the Classes† retained for the King's service, go where they please.

But I have been informed that M. Vauban, one of the first engineers of France,‡ has been all

* "Three brace of partridges, and a small barrel of Carps." —*Pepys's Cor.* (Jersey, Nov. 3, 1686.)

† "Sur les côtes de France on a distribué les matelots en plusieurs classes."—*Dict. de l'Acad.*

‡ "Sébastien le Prestre, seigneur de Vauban," who died,

along the coast of Normandy and Britanny, so far as Chosé, a little island, seven leagues from hence, to see what harbours might be made upon those coasts. He has pitched upon Grandville as a place fit to make a basin, has drawn a design and model of it, and made two estimates, one amounting to three millions of livres, the other to two, and which shall contain ten or fifteen of the King's frigates,* much like that which is now building at Cherburg, of which I suppose you may have been informed, and which will go on with all speed, the King having ordered five hundred men to work there this summer, till finished, and then they will begin that of Grandville, where they are already at work about the magazines.

What makes me conjecture this design will be effected, is, that since the King has approved of it, M. Vauban has been there to give orders about the work, and has taken up for the King's use all the line made on all the coast of Normandy.

How far this may affect England, you, sir, are the best judge, but it will extremely annoy these

1707, aged 74, "aprés avoir travaillé à 300 places anciennes, et en avoir construit 33 nouvelles, et après s'être trouvé à 140 actions de vigeur, et avoit conduit 53 siéges." His biographer adds:

"Le maréchal de Vauban étoit un ancien Romain sous les traits d'un François. Sujet plein d'une fidélité inviolable et nullement courtisan, il aimoit servir que plaire."—*Nov. Dict. Hist.*

* Described, (1808,) as "only capable of receiving about 60 small vessels."

islands, if we should have wars with France, to have a harbour within four or five hours sail to shelter so many frigates, which will be continually scouring these coasts, and will reduce these islands to insupportable necessity, unless, by his Majesty's favour and goodness, in time of peace his subjects here may make provision against war. Else, his Majesty will be obliged to do what their poverty and misery make them incapable of;—of which I have not unreasonable fears.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and obliged servant,

PH. CARTERET.

My wife presents her humble service to you.

SIR SAMUEL MORELAND* TO PEPYS.

SIR, Saturday, April 23, 1687.

SINCE I had the honour of waiting on you at your house, it has pleased Almighty God to

* Of whom (May 3, 1660) Pepys says: "Mr. Moreland was knighted by the King this week, and the King did give the reason of it openly, that it was for his giving him intelligence all the time he was clerk to Secretary Thurloe." Lord Braybrook adds: "Samuel Moreland, Scholar and Fellow of Magdalene College, and Mr. Pepys's tutor there, was employed by Cromwell, whose interests he betrayed by secretly communicating with Charles II. In consideration of these services, he was created a baronet. He is supposed by some to have invented the steam-engine." "On the 15th," Pepys says, "Mr. Moreland, now Sir Samuel, was here on board, but I do not find

visit me with a sickness, which has brought me low. I had bought materials, and set workmen about those engines for ship-pumps; but I soon found, if I did not daily attend the workmen, as I have always formerly done, I must lose all my money; and if I did attempt to attend them, I must soon lose my life.

Wherefore I humbly beg you, to all your former favours and kindnesses, to add this, of acquainting his Majesty with this letter. If it please God, to restore my former health, which I, as well as some of my friends, somewhat fear, I shall be glad to bestow it in doing his Majesty all the service in my power.

At present, I am struggling with many distempers: I was, not long since, let blood, but all that came out was perfect corruption. I am afraid griefs of divers kinds* have seized my heart.

that my Lord, or anybody, did give him any respect, he being looked upon by him and all men as a knave."

Pepys (1668, March 14) finds that "my Lord had Sir Samuel Moreland's late invention for casting up sums of L. S. D.; very pretty, but not very useful."—*Diary.*

* *Instar omnium*, a matrimonial adventure, thus described; with its prospects and disappointments, in Moreland to Pepys, Feb. 19, 1687.

"A person, for whom I had done a thousand kindnesses, pretended, in gratitude, to help me to a wife, a very virtuous, pious, and sweet dispositioned lady, an heiress, who had 500*l.* per annum in land of inheritance, and 4000*l.* with nine years' interest, besides a mortgage on 300*l.* per annum more, with plate, jewels, &c. Yet, *audi alteram partem.*

"The devil himself could not contrive more probable cir-

God's will be done! I beg you to believe that I am sincerely

Your most humble and faithful servant,

S. MORELAND.

AN account of the present method of instituting children in the Grammar School of Christ's Hospital, wherein is no mention of the mathematical children being concerned therein.

S. M. TO PEPYS.

SIR, April 26, 1687.

IN pursuance of an order of Committee, bearing date April 22, 1687, the present state of the Grammar School in Christ's Hospital is humbly represented as followeth.

The number of children, about one hundred and thirty, in six classes, the method of instruction (as near as can be) appointed by the Governors, when the number was seventy, under one master.

1st Class, instructed in accidence, learn, *memoriter*, a vocabulary, out of which all able to write

cumstances than were laid before me. Besides, that I really believed it a blessing from Heaven for my charity to that person; and I was, about a fortnight since, led as a fool to the stocks, and married a coachman's daughter, not worth a shilling, and who, about nine months since, was brought to bed of a bastard."—*Cor.*

transcribe every night some part, or the declension of some noun or conjugation of some verb. Those whom the Governors admitted before they could write, spend two hours each day in the Writing School.

2nd Class is carefully practised in Latin Grammar (Lilly's), by construing the whole, applying examples to rules, repeating the rules and examples, and in construing and parsing *Sententiæ Pueriles*, out of both which books they have appointed nightly exercises.

3rd Class is practised in the said grammar, by daily repetition, and by construing and parsing Cato's Distichs, or some such easy Latin author, out of both which books they have also nightly exercises.

4th Class is instructed in Corderius's Colloquies, and daily recite parts of the Latin Grammar; and, for their nightly exercise, translate some *colloquia*, write down the parsing of each word in some lesson, or turn some easy English sentences into Latin.

5th Class is practised (as the former) in the Latin Grammar, and in construing and parsing Erasmus's Colloquies, and Tully's Epistles; and, for nightly exercises, render into Latin examples according to each rule in Latin Syntax, or translate into Latin some fable, or piece of history or morality.

Those who have made better progress than the

rest, are instructed in Latin *prosodia;* also read Ovid's Metamorphoses, Terence, Greek Grammar, *Sidelii Manuale Gr.*, &c.

6th Class is practised in Greek Grammar, Greek Testament, Hesiod, Lucian's Dialogues, Greek Epigrams, Homer, Virgil, Tully's Orations, Martial, Juvenal, Horace, Livy, Hebrew Grammar and Psalter, and, being instructed in poetry and rhetoric, make themes and verses, and declaim, &c.

This, in short, is the method for the most part particularly prescribed, and as carefully regarded as the state of the school, from time to time, will permit. Other things, relating to catechizing, and the good government of the children, according to the orders appointed for the Grammar School, none shall more readily or faithfully endeavour to observe than

Your Honour's most humble servant,

S. M.

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL TO PEPYS.*

DEAR SIR, King's Weston, April 29, 1687.

POOR Greenfield has, this day, been with me, to tell all his sad story and the mischief you have done him.

When I consider this whole affair, how small

* *Endorsed*— In acknowledgment of the good office done to a poor master of a ship, in obtaining his release from his imprisonment in France.

soever the subject, I confess, I think you the most powerful man in England, and perhaps in the world, when I see who, against his will, you could force to be guilty of one good action. Whether Father le Chaise will not stick in your skirts for this odd prank, I leave you to consider.

I see young Houblon will prove in France a true son of his good father. I wish, from my heart, happiness to the whole family, and to yourself, repeated occasions to express heroic compassion. If it were lawful, I would envy to you the comfort of this good action.

Sæpe, prævente Deo, fert deus alter opem.

But I shall ever be,

Sir,

Your most faithful and most affectionate servant,

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

MR. MILLS TO PEPYS.

HONOURABLE SIR, May 16, 1687.

I WAS, this afternoon, to wait on you, to beg your assistance in looking after the prebend of Westminster, void by the death of Mr. Sill. I am fully satisfied of the frequent assurances of your friendship, therefore would never trouble

you till I saw a real occasion, when I thought you might do me a kindness.

I doubt not my Lord Oxford's interest. I know he will, at any time, honour me with his favour, and be ready to join with you. Whatever the number of competitors, I hope I have equal pretensions with other men, and never having had anything, am not, I hope, immodest, by desiring the next thing of this nature that happens to fall. My Lord Oxford is at present out of town; therefore give me leave, I beseech you, to depend on you. I am,

Honourable Sir,

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

R. Mills.

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL TO PEPYS.*

Dear Sir, King's Weston, May 23, 1687.

My last congratulated the deliverance you gave poor Greenfield from a French galley.

This will be given you by Captain Spurrill, who has endured at Algiers not less than nine years' hard usage, and above four hundred pounds ransom. Much of this befell him for concealing Mr. Gauden's condition when they were taken. This man was master of the ship first taken,

*. "Notice of two poor men redeemed from Algiers' slavery, and praying kindness for one of them."—MS.

before the war was known. He was carrying provisions, as you will well remember, to Tangier, in his Majesty's service. This notion among the Turks, that his Majesty would take care of him, enhanced his ransom, and increased his stripes.

There he had remained to death, had not Sir Richard Booth, after all his labour to collect for him, told me the story as he passed this way: on which I did solicit Lord Weymouth to procure us out of Sir William Coventry's legacy two hundred pounds, the sum wanting. The good lord, and the lady his mother, would go no further than their own compassion, and presently sent in the two hundred pounds to Mr. Bowtell, by which this deliverance has been wrought.

I rejoice at the opportunity to acquaint you with this piece of Christian generosity. And now this poor suffering man is free, if you will thrust him into his Majesty's service that he may know how to live, I give you my word I will publish your generosity, not to Lord Weymouth alone, but to everybody else.

Our young man goes on at Oxford in laying some of the dead colours. About Michaelmas, he may prove so *lawey*, as to step into Lincoln's-Inn.

I kiss your hands, and am ever

Your most affectionate and most humble servant,

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

MR. JAMES HOUBLON TO PEPYS.

Forest House, Saturday Evening, June 4, 1687.

It is a most reasonable and kind notice you give, (with leave to communicate,) that the remedy applied to curb the insolences of the Algerines in the Channel, may occasion their breaking with us. They are, indeed, very poor, and are abroad with a great force, but seem very far from an intention to quarrel either with us or the French.

Fourteen days since, two of our Brotherhood ships met with Canary, who was very civil. They had in company a small ship, really a Dutchman. At Malaga he wore Dutch colours; but when Canary came up, he wore French colours, and though, after examining, master and men, Canary concluded he was really Dutch, yet, having a French pass, (easily obtained,) he would not meddle with him.

With this I acquaint you, that you may know they have neither orders nor intention to break with us, that they are come up the North Seas, round Scotland, and far into the Channel. It is, that they may get booty; for by this means they are in a capacity to take more ships in a day, than off the North or South Capes in a year. I confess it is a great damage to the trade of England, and affront to the King's chamber, and

ought to be prevented; but whether it may not as well be remedied with temporising, namely, by speedy sending to Algiers some frigates that are ready, to let them know the King's resolution, as by ordering our ships to attack them presently, which may provoke them to make reprisals, though they have no order, is left to the King's wisdom to judge.

Ships from Turkey, and other parts of the Mediterranean, Plantation ships of all sorts, and many East-Indiamen, all very rich, and of great consideration to the King in his Customs, are every day expected. This considered, it would be happy, if some temper could be found to salve the King's honour, as sovereign of these seas, and to pacify our suffering neighbours by assuring them that, in time, the King will provide a remedy, than to expose the estate of the kingdom, and so many men's liberties, by engaging the Algerines to a sudden rupture.

Besides, Sir, these people intend not to stay in these seas. They must go home presently, for several reasons. Having many prizes and slaves, they will secure them and prevent starving in the voyage. Next they will consider the Dutch will be out upon them, and it behoves them; for they expect their East-India fleet this month, and have a vast number of other ships going and coming. On the other hand, (saving our claim to the seas,) the French are equally disturbed with us; but they have granted them,

by treaty, to come, when they will, as near their ports as they please, within and without the Channel, so as they come not within shot of their guns. Yet, I believe, the French will be so far from breaking with them on this score, that they would rejoice if it fell to our share to have a war with them on any occasion. Of the ill consequences to the King and us, I need not acquaint you.

I am in some haste, as you see by my writing and sense, which are both bad; but your messenger is in haste. I'll wait on you sometime on Monday.

I am your most humble servant,

J. HOUBLON.

MR. HOUBLON TO PEPYS.

SIR, London, June 6, 1687. Four, afternoon.

REMEMBERING what you were pleased to write, that you should be willing to see me after Monday, makes me forbear waiting on you to-day, as I promised, fearing I shall either interrupt you, or find you gone to Windsor. I send, nevertheless, this messenger to inquire after your health, and to know your best leisure when I may trouble you with a visit.

You have, no doubt, Sir, heard what a prize the Turks met with, of one Williamson, who went from London to Rotterdam with near one hundred passengers aboard. 'Tis feared, also,

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a Hamburger from hence may fall into their clutches, who, though he had word sent him to stay at Gravesend, would not regard it, but proceeded. By our letters from Holland we find them all alarmed. There were three Turks off the Maes and Goree, and three off the Helder and Texel. Count Straum was newly arrived in the Texel with six men-of-war, and heard nothing of their being on the coast. With this wind he cannot get out to sea, which the Turks know; and when an easterly wind comes, away go they.

The people in Holland were mutinous on these losses, and general fears they were in, and say the States took care to look after great ships, (meaning those that were convoyed out and home, to the Leeward and Mediterranean,) and neglected the smaller craft nearer home. Indeed, I know not how they 'll answer the reproach, seeing they were last year infested with these rogues, and might justly suspect them here again, with augmented force.

Sir, if a war between us and them happen, caused by this insolency, you know a better way cannot possibly be taken to prevent mischief, than by dispersing immediate notice to Leghorn, Alicant, Cadiz, Lisbon, Genoa, Messina, &c. with orders to the consuls there to disperse it to all the ports of Italy and Naples, Galipoli and Venice, and also to Zante, Smyrna, and Aleppo, by sea,

by hiring some small embarkations to sweep the coast, and to give the several Consuls notice in all those places. If the King would please to direct the said Consuls to do this at his charge, I believe it would be the best hundred or two (for more need not) ever laid out. It may secure 20,000*l.* customs, and five hundred subjects their liberties, and give a fresh instance of the King's continued care of his good subjects. This, Sir, I propose to be done, when our Commander-in-chief hath been at Algiers, and finds they will have no new articles with us, nor confirm the old; and that he concludes a war certain. If those very men-of-war did, by dispersing, carry the news to the Consuls above-mentioned, with the necessary orders to despatch small embarkations, it would be an admirable service, and they might, at those ports, receive ships under convoy.

Excuse, Sir, my impertinence and officiousness. It is my zeal for the King's service and that of trade, and the earnest desire I have to see everything continue to prosper under your ministry in naval affairs, more than any private interest of my own, most of our ships being at home, and never less at sea.

I return you again my humble thanks for the favour of your last letters, and am,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

JA. HOUBLON.

MR. HILL TO PEPYS.

SIR, Rotterdam, June 18, 1687.

I RECEIVED your noble present, for which I count myself extremely obliged for the honour done me, and for the author's sake, mine eldest son, (when I was proctor,) and very particular friend. I have compared most of the cuts with those of Rondelet,* and Fr. Bonsuetius upon him, and find yours more curious and exact, for the expenses of which the world, I perceive, is

* William Rondelet, who died 1566, aged fifty-nine, *(pour avoir trop mangé de figues,)* had published in 1554 and 1558, in Latin and French, a treatise on fishes, to which, probably, Mr. Hill has referred. Rondelet was a native of Montpelier, where he became an eminent physician, and where, at his suggestion, King Henry II. erected a theatre for the improvement of anatomy. To that science he was so devoted, as to have incurred the following severe censure: — "Ce père dénaturé s'appliquoit à l'anatomie avec tant d'ardeur, qu'il fit, lui-même, l'ouverture du corps d'un de ses enfans: opération digne d'un cannibale."

It has been justly remarked, that "a century has scarcely passed since the practice of anatomy was held in abhorrence; and the feelings through which we revolt at any irreverent treatment of the dead, ought not to be too indiscriminately eradicated; but the advantages which the study bestows upon mankind sufficiently justify and recommend its prosecution. As a philosophic inquiry, it is impossible not to be interested in the conformation of our own bodies; as a religious one, it will not fail to impress us with the most becoming ideas of our Creator."

most beholding to yourself. I hope to find observations exceeding the former in description, and for diet. Of the latter, I have only *Lud. Nonni Commentarius, de Piscium Esu.**

As for news, concerning what ships the Turks have taken, and what English ships are hired here and there, and sent out to warn those they can meet with, of the Dutch at sea; and what men-of-war are now, at last, sent out, I refer you to the Captain, who can inform you better, I suppose, than I. With one thing which may not be ungrateful, I may by these acquaint you.

The States having, for sundry years, discovered a great fraud in the Customs, resolved to farm half, which some of our merchants (amongst which one Englishman) having proffered most, have hired.

1. For three years, beginning September ensuing.

2. To have only half for themselves; but obliged to make good as much to the States, for their other half.

* Lewis Nonnius, a learned physician at Antwerp, in the seventeenth century, author of *Dieteticon, sive, de Re cibaria;* containing remarks for understanding the Roman poets in passages relating to the luxury of the Roman tables.

In *Ichthyophagia, seu de Piscium Esu,* (probably Mr. Hill's reference,) Nonnius renewed the opinion of the antient physicians, *de salubri Piscium Alimento,* and endeavoured to show that fish is especially a proper aliment for sedentary persons, aged, sick, and such as are of a weak constitution.

3. They may appoint what officers they please, for their own; but all the Admiralties, and their officers, to stand as formerly, with whom the farmers have nothing to do, to place or displace.

4. All money for Customs to be paid as formerly to the Treasurers of the several Admiralties with whom the farmers are to accompt.

5. They pay yearly, for their half of the Customs of all these countries, nineteen tuns of gold, (each ordinarily reckoned 10,000*l.*) and 10,000 guilders; which, in the whole, amounts to considerably more than hath been made the last twenty years. The highest year brought but twenty-eight tuns. If you desire further satisfaction in any particulars, let any of your clerks write by any yacht, and I shall endeavour it.

The rest gives you my humblest thanks for your acceptance of the Mercuries, which, I hope, have all come safe; if not, I can supply the defect. I send them by one or other hence, to deliver at landing to the Penny-post, lest they should cost more than they are worth. You may be sure your desire commands the continuance of my endeavours to serve you in that or anything in the power of

Your humble servant,

Jos. Hill.

MR. HOUBLON TO PEPYS.

SIR, June 25, 1687.

I WAS much uneasy that what was intended for diversion yesterday, proved a double trouble, by all that noise and tumult about you. Forgive me this once: I'll bar my door against intruders hereafter. I heartily thank you for your patience.

Sir, our Lord Mayor is drinking to Sheriffs: some have fined. My brother John is informed he is in the black list, to be drunk to in time. Glad would he be to have his name struck out, which, he is informed, may be done for a word speaking either to my Lord Chancellor or Lord Mayor. He presents his most humble service, and begs you to pardon him, that I, at his request, desire to know if, without any trouble to yourself, you can have him relieved.

I hope, Sir, you will believe it is with great anxiety I give you, at any time, such trouble. I assure you I have many solicitors, but I deny all, and will do so; but forgive me that I could not deny my brother.

This matter requires no ~~post~~ haste. If at Windsor, you could know with whom it is lodged, to blot out the name. I believe it is in the Chancellor, to whom my Lord Mayor hath first brought the list for approval. I say,

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Sir, this known, I hope it may easily be done. Once in a week is time enough; and at your appointment I 'll wait on you with the best information I can. Again, Sir, I beg pardon for this presumption, and am,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

J. Houblon.

MR. MILLS TO PEPYS.

Honourable Sir, Sandwich, July 12, 1687.

Soon as I received the news of the dissolution of this last Parliament,* I believed it might be in order to the calling of a new one. I therefore held myself obliged to offer you my humble service, for our Corporation, whenever his Majesty shall call another. I am almost of opinion it may be so managed here, that you may be chosen even without the King's recommendation; for effecting which I will use my utmost interest and diligence.

I desire, therefore, you will let me know whether you have any inclination to the proposal, and I will feel their pulses, without letting

* "By proclamation, July 2, 1687,—August 24, his Majesty declared in Council, that another Parliament should be summoned for November 27, 1688, the writs to bear date September 5; but they were recalled, or not issued, on news of the

them be the wiser as to what are your intentions. If it can be done, it shall be in a way very honourable, perhaps by their own invitation. If the thing be not grateful to you, yet I hope you will pardon and suppress the unfeigned zeal of

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

AL. MILLS.

DUCHESS OF NORFOLK * TO PEPYS.

SIR, Weybridge,† July 15, 1687.

I AM encouraged to beg a favour, knowing your regard for my Lord Duke, deceased,‡ and his obligations to you: which is, that you will procure, as for yourself, ten or eleven pieces of

Prince of Orange's design. December 10, King James ordered the writs, not sent out, to be burned; and the same night, on his going away, threw the Great Seal into the Thames."

John Pepys had been chosen for Sandwich in 1685, but waved.

* Jane. Her second husband was Colonel Maxwell, of an ancient family in Scotland.

† Thus noticed by Evelyn:—" 1687. Dec. 20. We went to Weybridge to see some pictures of the Duchess of Norfolk's, particularly the statue, or child, *in gremio*, said to be of Mich. Angelo, but there are reasons to think it rather a copy, from some proportion in the figures ill-taken. It was now exposed to sale."—*Diary*.

‡ The Duke had a seat at Albury, Surrey, where the *Hypogeum*, or subterraneous grotto, cut through a hill, has been much admired. It is about a furlong in length, and leads into a fine valley.

Scotch plaid, or give me leave to order them to be directed to you, that I may, with less trouble, come by them. I entreat this of you, because now, in my absence, I have little interest in town; but if the least inconvenience, I also beg you freely to answer me so; and when it comes in my way to serve you, notwithstanding, I shall let you see I would readily oblige you to my utmost power, as

Your servant,

J. NORFOLK.

Mills, Cook's son, has promised to give this to your hands.

MRS. EVELYN TO PEPYS.*

SIR, Sayes Court, September 7, 1687.

IT will not misbecome me to condole with you the loss of one for whose good, in his lifetime, I have so often importuned you. I will not altogether justify his proceedings,† (all men have

* In behalf of Mrs. Fowler.—*Pepys.*

In a letter to Pepys, Sept. 5, 1687, there is a notice of Captain Fowler's ship. Mrs. Fowler was, no doubt, his widow.

† Perhaps alluding, among other misfortunes, to the following somewhat awkward mistake:—

"He returned to Europe in April 1679, and had the misfortune to drive on shore near Ushant, two English ships and one French, having mistaken them for Algerines." — *Diary of Teonge.*

their infirmities,) but he was unfortunate in a great many of his endeavours, and especially in those which should have redeemed him from clamour and domestic troubles, which now more and more appear, by daily pretenders to considerable sums. These add affliction to the real sorrow of his widow, who laments, as she ought, the loss of her husband, and her want of power to be just to all; though, in order to it, as far as the arrear due to the Captain and her household goods will extend, she freely resigns to his creditors. More is not in her power: and the little provision remaining for her and her child, obliges me, (and I am sure I shall have Mr. Evelyn's leave) to give you this trouble, to consider her present case with the same favour and kindness you have hitherto showed, in assisting with your advice, what may be seasonably offered in her behalf to move his Majesty to pity her condition by some small pension towards her subsistence. I dare not name the sum; but any competency would be a welcome charity, and could not be bestowed on a person more prudent and deserving, and who has none of those too general failings of our sex to answer for, either pride or vanity. A better wife no man ever had,

She has suffered with great patience and discretion the chagrin which proceeds from a necessitous condition. Natural reserve, such as his, seldom makes a man easy at home; and that

temper which seemed morose, might possibly be put on as a fence to the knowledge of those concerns which might afflict a wife whom he had reason to love and cherish. But, be it what it could, there never was, (in nine years,) prosperity enough to make them happy.

I add no more, but that he spent his life and health in his Majesty's service; nor should I say so much, or press your good and generous nature as I do, but that I am assured, by many instances, how just and obliging you are to your friends, and most particularly to her who is,

Sir,

Your most obliged, most humble servant,

MARY EVELYN.

DR. VINCENT TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR, Clare Hall, Nov. 1, 1687.

SINCE I am persuaded you will not, for the future, be afraid of my importune letters, improper requests, or impertinent proposals, I now beg a book of you which I mightily want, but cannot purchase: it is Labbe's Collection of the Councils,*

* "Collectio Maxima Conciliorum, per Philippum Labbe et Gabrielem Cossart, cum Dominici Jacobatii et aliorum Tractatibus de Concilio. *Parisiis, Societas,* 1672.

There was a later edition, entitled, "Collectio Regia Maxima

to be sold at the next auction. Though it will cost near five-and-twenty pounds, yet I adventure to ask it of you, because I cannot but conclude your kindness for me does amount to a far higher value, and perhaps your opinion too, of the thanks which will be returned you by,

Sir,

Your ever devoted, humble servant,

NATH. VINCENT.

The worthy bearer, a divine of the City,* is my commissioner for what I shall myself be able to buy at the auction.

LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.† 1687.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN A. AND B.

A. WHAT is liberty of conscience?

B. I know not; for, in truth, there is no

Conciliorum, &c. Græcè et Latinè; ad Philippi Labbei et Gabrielis Cossartii labores, &c. studio Johannis Harduini. *Parisiis, ex Typographia Regia,*" 1715.

* Richard Clownham, whose receipt (Nov. 21, 1687) for twenty-five pounds, from Mr. Secretary Pepys, for the use of Dr. Vincent, is among the MSS.

† "Sir William Petty's paper, written at my desire, and given me by himself, a little before his death."—*Pepys.* See *Appendix.*

Prefixed to "Tracts, chiefly relating to Ireland," is, "The

liberty of *sciénce* or *conscience*, nor believing what we please,* no more than believing any object to be of that colour of which we desire it should be.

A. But what is meant by that vulgar expression, liberty of conscience?

B. Leave from the sovereign power, that all, or any of its subjects, may worship God, and profess opinions, in matters purely spiritual, as themselves think best, for the quiet of their own souls here, and eternal happiness after death.

A. What is a Church?

B. All the subjects of any sovereign, assembled

last will of that great master of political arithmetic, Sir W. Petty, Knight." Annexed to this document is a paragraph, in which he is described as dying at his house in Piccadilly Street, Westminster, of a gangrene in his foot, occasioned by the swelling of the gout, 16th Dec. 1687.

* His last will, dated 2nd May, 1685, he had thus concluded: "As for religion, I die in the profession of that faith, and in the practice of such worship, as I find established by the law of my country, not being able to believe what I myself please, nor to worship God better than by doing as I would be done unto, and observing the laws of my country, and expressing my love and honour to Almighty God.

"Thus, begging the Divine Majesty to make me what he would have me to be, I willingly resign my soul into his hands, relying only on his infinite mercy, and the merits of my Saviour, for my happiness after this life, where I expect to know and see God more clearly, than by the study of the Scriptures and of his works I have been hitherto able to do. Grant me, O Lord, an easy passage to thyself, that, as I have lived in thy fear, I may be known to die in thy favour."

by his leave, in the most representative, to consult of spiritual matters: this representative is the national Church, being the *vox populi*, which is said to be *vox Dei*.

A. What are matters spiritual?

B. Such as concern the essence of God, of his persons and attributes, of angels, good and bad, of the spirits and souls of man and beast, of incorporeal substances, of invisible things, inaccessible places, and immense trines * and spaces.

A. What now is the liberty you mean?

B. That any man may worship God otherwise than as the aforementioned national Church appoints; and may profess opinions, in spiritual matters, other than those determined by the said Church. Provided, that such seeker of liberty do solemnly protest before God, that he verily believes his particular opinions to be true; and that the same, with the manner of worship he desireth, is necessary for the peace and welfare of his soul; and that, in all other matters, he will submit to the laws of his sovereign.

It seems to me there must be two liberties; one from the sovereign, that his subjects may form a national Church, as above-mentioned; and another, liberty given by the said national Church to particular Dissenters.

* "As 'a *trine* aspect' when two planets are distant from each other a *third* part of the circle (120 degrees). It is accounted by astrologers, an aspect of amity."— *World of Words.*

A. What do you mean by liberty, for you said there was no liberty in believing?

B. I mean impunity; that is, no man shall be punished, in life, limb, liberty, or estate, for dissenting from the national Church, leaving him to God to be punished for what is sinful therein; reserving still to the sovereign a right of punishing, or suppressing even, the same opinions, if inconsistent with the public peace and welfare of the people, of which the sovereign is to be judge.

A. How may this liberty be perpetuated, under all forms and successions of government and changes of Parliament, and what oaths to be taken now or hereafter?

B. It seems to me it can only be perpetuated by the *vox populi*, or the *voice* of all the *people*, who have souls to save, who are able to bear arms, and are of years of discretion, suppose twenty-one years old. For in these doth visibly, naturally, and perpetually lie the infallible or irresistible power, concerning these matters of the soul.

A. Can all these people be represented practically and conveniently?

B. Yes: with less trouble, confusion, and expense, than a knight of the shire is chosen in any county of England.

A. But would not an assembly interfere with the present constitutions of Parliament?

B. No: it seems to me to be a bare council of quite another nature, without any legislative

power at all; only to quiet the people concerning invisible and purely spiritual matters.

A. Is there no other way to regulate and perpetuate the liberty of conscience which you have described?

B. I cannot think of any at present, but will consider it further.*

* This paper may have some reference, especially on the subject of toleration, to two short letters from Petty to Pepys, Sept. 4 and 8, 1687, *docketed* as "relating to Ireland." See *Pepys's Correspondence.*

From MSS. in the British Museum, attributed to Sir William Petty, is the following—

"CONCERNING PAPISTS AND PROTESTANTS.

"A Papist is one who professeth that the kingdom of Jesus Christ was, and is, of this world, and as absolute as that of Moses and Aaron, or of the Judges, or of David among the Jews. That Jesus bequeathed his kingdom to his servant Peter, and Peter to his successors for ever. That the seat of this spiritual and universal empire is the now city of Rome. That this empire and the Christian church is the same thing. That the chief man now reigning in Rome, and called the Pope, is the true and lawful successor of Peter. That the true Christian church, and the power thereof, is virtually in him. That the constitution of the Pope and Cardinals is apostolical. That a synod of divines, commonly called a General Council, assembled by the Pope's authority, is infallible in all their determinations.

"But a Protestant Christian is one who professeth against all the said powers and pretences of the Pope, and who supposeth the same to be antichristian.

"When one would have you be a Papist, or Protestant, or Anabaptist, or, &c. let them quit those *gibberish* denominations and uncertain phrases, but make you a list of *credenda et agenda* necessary for your eternal happiness, and give the reasons for

SIR JOHN WYBORNE TO PEPYS.

EVER HONOURED SIR, Bombay, Jan. 7, 1687-8.

SINCE my last, I have had abundance of illness, and more vexation, all things going so much against the grain. One gentleman kept me from receiving one penny of the King's moiety; and a considerable quantity of goods has been disposed of here, and several ships.

I am made judge of the Admiralty Court in the room of Dr. John St. John, and have condemned two ships as *interlopers*.* The first (the *Straits merchant*, Captain Beer) had been abroad three years, but most of her cargo being on shore at Mocha, where she was taken, was left behind; but she had in her fifteen thousand pieces of eight. The other was a country ship, bought by Mr. White, an Englishman, at Mergui, in the King of Siam's dominions, and was, or is, Custom-master of said place. Our General would have had me condemn her, as the King of Siam's ship;

the same. Then, let them give you a clear and sensible explanation of these words, God, omnipotent, soul of man, soul of beast, church, Christian, Pope, spiritual, substance, Scripture, reason, and sense, for without these words you cannot talk of these matters, much less come to any conclusion."

* "*Interlope.* Vaisseau Marchand, qui trafique en fraude dans les pays de la concession d'une Compagnie de Commerce ou dans les Colonies d'une autre nation que la sienne." —*Dict. de l'Académie Française.*

but she was taken under English colours, (no others on board,) and commanded by an Englishman, Captain Banns, who died of his wounds. Her officers, and all the papers, were English; her pass, in Mr. White's name, as owner, sealed, or stamped with the King of Siam's stamp.

I have to my assistance two men, both of my opinion, that the ship belonged to Mr. White, her merchant; and all the Europe-men (seven) brought in hither, swore in Court they were hired and shipped by Mr. White, and looked on him as owner of the ship and paymaster. Some of them swore, they heard him say the ship and goods were his. This will not please our General, he saying the ship belongs to the King of Siam, and ought to be condemned as his; but we have condemned her as Mr. White's; so is an *interloper*, which gives his Majesty half her cargo. Condemned as the King of Siam's ship, his Majesty would have had no share; neither will he of the *interloper's* half, unless he confirm my authority. The cargo of the latter ship I condemned was valued at twenty or twenty-two thousand pieces of eight.

Sir, at my first coming to India, I demanded his Majesty's moiety of some ships and goods taken by Captain Tyrrell of the Phœnix, and condemned. Because the General should not be ignorant of the power I had to demand said half part, I sent him a copy of his Majesty's commis-

sion you sent me to the Downs, and desired him to assist me in collecting it. Instead, he sent home to your Company, who have sent to him not to pay me one farthing till further order; saying I got the King's order in a clandestine manner, and they would get his Majesty's Privy Seal to supersede my order. Which I pray God and you to prevent, by getting his Majesty's more positive commands that they may pay it to me; for if the General get me out of that commission, he will soon rout me out of all business in India.

Sir, I have been very ill used since I came hither; and if you see that I must lose his Majesty's commission or not serve him with it, I beg you to get his order for my coming home. If he would send me one of his smallest vessels (if but a ketch) to carry me, I should think myself the happiest man living, for I abhor going in one of the Company's ships. Were it not for my wife, I'd rather go to Persia, and so to Aleppo; but, as my case stands, I cannot.

Sir, ten sail of large ships, taken from the Mogul's subjects and the Singannees, are here, the least, two hundred tons, besides a many barks and small vessels, and the two *interlopers*, whose cargoes will come to a great deal of money. If his Majesty has reserved any part to himself, and will order me to receive it, and our General, or chief officers entrusted here by the Company,

to pay it me, I 'll be sure to see his Majesty shall not be wronged.

Sir, I have abundance to say, were I with you. Tangier was a wicked place, but this goes far beyond it, we having a vice here there is no fence against. Men will swear anything they know will please our chief officer, who wrote home against me for breaking open his packet, which I never did; and to make amends, he sent to the Company that he was mistaken, for his packet had not been broken open; but the latter was not noticed. They have writ a reproving letter, and declared themselves angry with me; but their anger is because of his Majesty's order to collect his moieties.

Sir, when we came out hither, we fell in with the Coast of Guinea, and stopped at Cape Monte to wood and water. We met two Guinea *interlopers*, both having been plundered, as they told us, by a French pirate. I gave their masters clothes of my own, they saying the pirate had taken theirs. Now, one of them, George Paris, junior, of Barbadoes, (but the vessel, a bark or sloop of thirteen tons, he said, belonged to Carolina,) pretends that I and Captain Swanly robbed him, when I robbed myself, to clothe the villain. And none of our men, I dare swear, had to the value of one farthing from him; for he told us he had nothing to lose, and we never went near his vessel, but sent the London's barge to fetch

him at eight o'clock at night, and sent him on board again by eight o'clock next morning. Our ships were under sail, and the boat did not stay, either time; but for my kindness in giving him clothes, (at least, I so esteemed it,) he sent me two young black fellows, and a little boy about three years old, and gave Lieutenant Barbar, who went with him in the boat, a little girl. Before the barge got back to us we were a great way off from said vessel, or I would have got our Captain Eaton to have sent him his present again. He had stolen them, not above three days before, at Cape Monte. So, they costing him nothing, made me willing to accept them; but no man forced the least thing in the world from him or the other, they having had nothing to lose, as they told us, nor to trade with. We took their words, and never made any other inquiry.

Sir, I understand there has been a letter shown to his Majesty about it by Sir Benjamin Bathurst. I humbly pray you to present my most humble duty to his Majesty, whom God preserve. I hope he will not believe that I will be guilty of so vile an action as to rob or abuse any man living. I can safely swear I never did, nor any other ill thing to any man's prejudice but my own. My coming to this cursed place may be looked on as a piece of folly in me, but I will not call it so; for his Majesty was pleased to think well of it,

and so were you, and I hope my being here may prove for his Majesty's service.

Sir, I have written to Sir Benjamin Bathurst at large about the business of Paris, and hope all that know me will harbour a better opinion than to think I would do so base a thing as that rascally fellow charges me with. I am sure I hate the thoughts of doing a knavish action.

I don't question but Captain Tyrrell has given you an account of the people I have now to deal with, and Dr. St. John will do the like. God, I hope, will send me clear of them. Sir, I send your honour the trial of the ship our General would have the King of Siam's, and hope you will be of my opinion, that she was Mr. White's, for nothing appears, in my judgment, that can make her otherwise.

Sir, I beg your honour's pardon for the trouble of this long letter. I could write abundance more, but will not now, only once more humbly pray you to present my most dutiful duty to his Majesty, whom I pray God long to preserve.

Believe me to be, Sir,

Your honour's ever obliged and obedient servant,

JOHN WYBORNE.

SIR, since I wrote the foregoing, our General told me his commission was, to collect his Ma-

jesty's moiety of all such ships and goods as were seized and condemned on the island of Bombay, and nowhere else; so that I had no title or order to receive his Majesty's moiety of any goods or ships taken and condemned at Swally,* near Surat. I answered him, I could not tell how it came to pass that their charter ran so: but I knew it was not a thing customary for the King to give commissions to hold courts of judicatory in any other king's or prince's territories, unless it were in places or islands in actual possession of his subjects, and so became obedient to his laws, which Swally is not, nor any other place in India, except the island of Bombay and Fort St. George. And I know Captain Tyrrell's orders from his Majesty, countersigned by yourself, ran, to carry all ships he should happen to take, into one of those places; but I wrote your honour of this matter by Captain Tyrrell.

Sir, another thing grieves me very much, to see our good master's colours worn and abused by a sort of little villains that dare not defend them; every one here having the liberty to wear them, and several wear them on their ship's main-top,

* A seaport town of Hindoostan. On a point of land, ten miles south from this town, is a tower, which serves as a beacon to vessels making the road of Surat. It was erected over the grave of an English Captain Vaux, buried there. Near, lies the celebrated English traveller, Thomas Coryate, having finished his earthly peregrinations here in 1617.

and on their houses when they come to a place where the Company has no factory; nay, on their long-boats' masts'-heads, as often as they send for water, &c. of which I have often spoken as not to be endured; and, on my soul! to see a little, drunken boatswain's mate of a merchant-ship, or indeed of any ship, to be chief commander where the King's flag, Jack and ensign, fly, is very preposterous. I hope his Majesty will believe me in the right, and order his flag to fly nowhere but where it may be, in all probability, defended. Indeed, I have signed to several long letters, some relating to the conveniency of the King's flag being worn, but, in my post, it will not become me to oppose all that our General is pleased to do. However, I hope God will bless me as long as I have a due regard to what belongs to his Majesty's honour and interest; and when I forget that, I hope God will forget me!

J. W.

DR. GALE TO PEPYS.

SIR, January 28, 1687-8.

I DESIRE you to recommend this my request to Mr. Houblon; that he would write to his correspondent at Venice to buy for him twenty or thirty pounds worth of Greek books in manuscript, of any sort, either Greek fathers, historians, poets, or others.

It may be hoped that, at this time,* the soldiers, or Greeks, may bring books to Venice.

Yours,

T. GALE.

JOSIAH BURCHETT† TO PEPYS.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR, Feb. 2, 1688.

I WOULD long ago have taken some happy opportunity, on my knees, to have begged your honour's pardon, had I not been afraid my presumption would have augmented rather than lessened your displeasure. So, at a loss what course to steer, and my conscience telling me the faults for which your honour was pleased, most justly,

* Probably referring to the wars then raging between Turkey and Austria. Such wars had been often expected to have opened to the purchase of scholars some of the neglected literary treasures of ancient Eastern libraries.

For not a little interesting information on the subject of ancient books and manuscripts, see "Select Essays from the Encyclopedia." — "Erasmus (A.D. 1498, *ætat.* 31) applying himself closely to the Greek language, says, that as soon as he could get any money he would purchase, first, Greek authors; and secondly, clothes." On this commendable appropriation, Jortin adds, not, I trust, quite correctly, "there are few students who would do the same."

† He became secretary to the Admiralty, and published the Naval History of Great Britain. For nearly fifty years he represented Sandwich in Parliament; and died Oct. 2, 1746, very far advanced in years.

to discharge me your service,* had rendered me wholly undeserving the re-enjoyment of it, I despaired of getting again into your honour's favour. In the height of my perplexity, I was so bold to trouble your honour with two or three letters, in hopes they would have moved your compassion, which, on mature consideration, I wish with all my heart your honour had never seen.

It grieves me much, may it please your honour, to think I have proved so bad a servant to so good a master; and that the inconsiderate pride and folly to which I was at last grown, should not only make me forget by what means I came into your service, but also render me so stupid as not to discern the many undeserved favours your honour was pleased to show me, and that my misbehaviour had, many times before, merited that punishment your honour was at last constrained to inflict. So blind was I as not to see my faults, and so ungrateful as to slight friends who took pains to make me sensible of them.

* "In which he had continued during seven years and upwards." His destitution (Aug. 13, 1687) he had thus described:—

"'Tis a severe penance I undergo in being thrown so suddenly out of a family I have so long earned my bread in, into a wide world, whereto, God knows, I am so great a stranger, that I know not how or where to bestow myself, being constrained, through want of money to procure me house-room, to ramble in those parts where I may least expose myself to the sight of my friends, now grown equally cruel to that of my enemies."—See *Pepys's Correspondence.*

Amongst whom I must account my good old mistress, Mrs. Edwards, who, on my entreaty, has promised to deliver this to your honour, the principal, whose advice had I followed, I might have avoided the thunder-clap which lately struck me.

I am very sensible, may it please your honour, what I have lost, in losing your favour. Your service is an honour that neither my relations nor myself could ever have hoped I should have come to: yet, when arrived to such a degree in it as might have contented one much more deserving than myself, my whole study was how to lose it. Lord help me!

What can I now do! or where can I employ that little talent which my friends have, as their all, bestowed on me, unless your honour will be so compassionate as to receive me into your service again? Which, with utmost humility, I beseech you to do, promising I will never more be so ungrateful as to abuse your honour's goodness, but strive by all possible means to show myself,

May it please your honour,
Your honour's most thankful, most dutiful,
and most obedient servant,
J. BURCHETT.

MR. EVELYN TO PEPYS.*

SIR, Deptford, March 1, 1687-8.

IT being my intention to kiss your hands, and, in person, give you thanks for your letter, without writing, the surprises and continuance of this rude season has diverted me from either waiting on you or, till now, writing.

I showed Mrs. Fowler your charitable concern for her, at which she was not a little troubled, apprehending you might think her coming to wait on you the last week was to put you in mind of money, &c. which, she assures me, was not so much as in her thought. The occasion of her coming was, to have entreated you to quicken Mr. Gibson, who seemed to make some difficulty, to let her have a bed, and some small conveniences, (according to his promise and agreement, she allowing the full of the appraisement,) for furnishing a little humble being.† She has found one in Greenwich, being now hourly called by Sir William Hooker, her landlord, in whose house she still is. This being the sole inducement of her application at that time, she humbly begs, for the rest (his Majesty's bounty and your great kindness) you will take your own time and best convenience, without pressing in the least.

* "Accompanying an original Book of Rates of the Navy, 1588."—*Pepys.*

† In Norfolk, signifies lodging.

The like, Mr. Cows, her brother, humbly desires as to his concern, who does so entirely resign himself, that, as to conditions, he is not at all solicitous. Whatever may be thought a competency for a diligent and faithful servant in that station, he is most gratefully ready to accept, without giving you the trouble of seeking precedents. For his great industry, sobriety, and honesty, I am still his voucher, and shall for these, and all your other great civilities, ever remain, Sir,

Your most humble and most faithful servant,

J. EVELYN.

I send you another rag of paper, as the countryman offered a handful of water to the Persian monarch. Your acceptance of such trifles shall be to me a kingdom.

Mr. Gibson and Mrs. Fowler are since agreed, so you shall not need to give yourself any more trouble.

THE REV. DR. JOHN TURNER TO PEPYS.

SIR, Eynesbury, March 1, 1687-8.

THIS gentleman, Mr. Hunt, hath long had an ambition of being known to you; and I, knowing him to be in the number of those you delight to favour and promote, have taken the liberty to give him this occasion of waiting on you. His family hath resided in this town about four years.

When at any time he hath had short leisure from public service, I have had the happiness of his good conversation.

He is exceeding studious; so learned and skilful in mathematics, so happy in reducing theorems to public use and the service of his Majesty's affairs, that the mathematical professors of both Universities not only approve, but greatly value his writings and abilities. His present employment is, one of the general supervisorships of the King's revenue of Excise: his industry and skill have contributed much to the setting that in so good order as 'tis now established. He labours night and day for the increase and easy receipt of that revenue, and that greater perfection be added to its establishment.

Sir, if you have opportunity either to promote him in that office, or to employ him in other his Majesty's service of which you will find him capable, I humbly beg the favour to him. He is no less modest than deserving, and will not be troublesome.

I beg leave to add one scrap of Latin on this subject: —

" Mi domine, *multa beneficia in multosc ontulisti: ausim contendere, nullum te melius, æque bene vix unum aut alterum collocasse.*" *

* *C. Plin. Epist.* l. iv. E. iv.—" You have bestowed numberless good offices on many: but, I will venture to say, you never conferred one that was better placed than here; and few, perhaps, so well."—*Melmoth.*

Sir, I give you most sincere and humble thanks for many great kindnesses to me, both new and old; and beg your pardon of this trouble, being an office of friendship, for which I know you have a great respect, Sir,

Your most obliged and humble servant,

JOHN TURNER.

MR. HOUBLON TO PEPYS.

SIR, March 12, 1687-8.

I SHOULD blame myself more than I do, for not waiting on you, but that I know, next to the King's business, you have full employ about the elegancy of furnishing your new house, which work, I hope, to your satisfaction, will in a short time be over.

After much-a-do with our tapestry-man, I have brought him to take 25*s.* 6*d.* per ell, which is less by eight shillings than in ordinary. Herewith you have his note, amounting to 81*l.* 12*s.**

It may be, he will think much of coming to that end of the town for his money. However, if you appoint a time certain, I will acquaint him. As to measure, please to see it agrees with his note.

I wish you may think them a pennyworth: the seller assures me they are. Anything further

* "27 Feb. 1687-8. Bought of Gerard Van Heythuyssen 2 pieces of tapestry, 8 : 8 ells 4 ells deep, containing 64 ells, at 25*s.* 6*d.* . . . 81*l.* 12*s.*"—*Pepys.*

1.4.3 G. 179:5

profitable to you, not of charge, as this is, I shall more readily do, being,

Your most humble and most obedient,

JA. HOUBLON.

Such a clatter from Dutch-land, of storming both by sea and land, makes us poor merchants look carefully at what may be the end. Glad we are, in the mean time, to see here a disposition for peace, and that we shall be happy in a profitable neutrality, which we traders think best for England. I wish the zealous Roman priesthood and sword-men thought so.

PEPYS TO SIR RICHARD HADDOCK.*

SIR, Friday, April 6, 1688.

THIS serves, by his Majesty's particular direction, to let you know that, pursuant to his late discourse with you and your brethren the other day at Mr. Chiffinch's, he would have you proceed with all despatch, and as little observation as you can, to providing flesh for one thousand

* "One of the Commissioners for victualling his Majesty's Navy."—*Pepys.*

Sir Richard was also "Comptroller of the Navy, and an Admiral. In 1678 he was M. P. for Aldborough, and in 1685, for Shoreham. Sir Richard died 1714, aged 85."

The Admiral's father has a grave-stone at Lee, with brass plates, on which are engraved representations of himself, his three wives, ten sons, and eleven daughters.

men for six months, ready for answering any extraordinary occasion. To defray the charge, his Majesty and my Lords of the Treasury, for your satisfaction, and for avoiding unnecessary publication, have instructed me in the method, which I am ready to communicate whenever you or any of your number shall, in a morning, call on me for it. I am,

Your most humble servant,

S. Pepys.

PEPYS TO SIR RICHARD HADDOCK.

Sir, April 10, 1688.

Not being willing to enter into discourse of the contents of the enclosed when you were here, we not being then alone, and the business requiring secrecy, I did not, by the little you said concerning it, enough understand your intentions. But, lest that which follows should be the meaning, I thought it convenient to return it to you, telling you that this one thousand men's flesh for six months, is no part of the year's declaration of four thousand men, but a supplemental demand of so many more, to be paid for by money, in a method extraordinary, as you will immediately discern, on your second perusal. You will therefore do well to proceed on it with what despatch you can. Sir, I am

Your most humble servant,

S. Pepys.

DR. WALLIS * TO PEPYS.

SIR, Oxford, April 20, 1688.

THE freedom you allowed me formerly † makes me hope you will not be offended with this trouble given you, not on my own particular account, but on that of the University, for which you have, I promise myself, a great regard.

Printing, you may please to understand, within four or five years after the invention, was first set up in Oxford by the University, at their great charge, many years before any printing was in London, or elsewhere in England.‡ By

* "Dr. Wallis was born at Ashford, Kent, of which parish his father was minister. After learning," adds Granger, "a little arithmetic of his brother, he made his way in the mathematics by the force of a genius which seemed to be designed by nature for this branch of science, and that was equal to everything to which it was applied."

In "The Life and Errors of John Dunton," is a copy of verses, entitled, "The Mathematical Funeral, or a Monument erected to the memory of the late pious and learned Dr. John Wallis, in *algebraic* terms."

† Wallis appears only once in the *Diary*, where Pepys says, "1666, Dec. 16. To Sir P. Neale's chamber, Sir E. Walker being there, telling us how he hath lost many fine rolls of antiquity, in heraldry, by the late fire, but hath saved the most of his papers. Here was also Dr. Wallis, the famous scholar and mathematician, but he promises little."

‡ "It is well known," says Dr. Cogan, "that England stole the art from Holland about 1460, in consequence of a deliberate and expensive plan of seducing one of the workmen (Laurence Coster) from the Haarlem press."

them it hath been enjoyed and practised, in pursuance of right and privilege they had before, of publishing books and multiplying copies by writing.

When Elizabeth and James I. granted the Company of Stationers in London patents for printing certain books therein mentioned; and to others, (who thereupon called themselves the King's printers,) for printing Bibles and Common-Prayer Books, with a prohibition to others to print the same, which they call, though it be not, a grant of sole printing. Lest this might be thought to derogate from the University's ancient right, (confirmed, amongst other rights, by 13 Eliz.) Charles I. by three charters, in the 8th and 11th of his reign, renewed the grant of printing and publishing all books not publicly prohibited.

Lest these general words might be thought not particular enough for those books, or that books granted by those patents might be reputed as prohibited to all others, for preventing this doubt, in that charter (11 Car. I.) he makes particular mention of former grants to the Stationers and other patentees, who have, as before, liberty of printing what numbers, and in what form they please, but in concurrence with them, for the better supply of the nation.

For so doing, we were, divers years since, molested by Mr. Henry Hill, and the King's other

patentees, or claiming under them, by complaint to the then King in Council. On a full hearing at the Council-table, by counsel on both sides, his late Majesty and the Council declared themselves so fully satisfied in the University's right, that the complaint was dismissed; not one person (or but one, that we know of) being of a different opinion.

When it had thus rested for some years, they molested us by a long and chargeable suit before the then Lord Keeper North, who, after many hearings, and the expense of many hundred pounds, remitted it to a trial at common law.

They then molested us, in the King's Bench, with two suits, one in their own names, the other in the name of the Company of Stationers. After declarations, pleas, demurrers, and rejoinders, in both causes, it was argued by counsel on both sides, before the then Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, and the other judges of the King's Bench. On that first arguing, the Court declared themselves so well satisfied in the University's right, that our adversaries did not think fit to proceed further, but have let it rest for about three years.

But now Mr. Hill and his partners give us a new trouble, by reviving that suit in the King's Bench. How he, or others for him, may have represented the matter to his present Majesty,

to our disadvantage, we cannot tell, or whether his Majesty will at all concern himself in this affair.

But we have that confidence in his Majesty's justice and clemency, as to hope that he who did so fully and frankly declare his judgment for us, when heard at the Council-table, will not easily receive impressions now to our disadvantage, in a case wherein, we think, our right is so very evident: and that the University of Oxford, always wont to find their princes gracious, as well in former times as since the Reformation, shall not find his present Majesty less gracious: and that his Majesty's printers at Oxford, as well as his Majesty's printers at London, (for we claim under the like royal grant,) may enjoy the benefit of their just grants, without being precluded by those at London, as we do not desire to preclude them.

I have desired Mr. Peter Parker, one of our printers,* to wait on you with this letter, who can more particularly inform you in what questions you may please to ask him. If you shall please to improve your interest with his Majesty,

* "Samuel Clark, M.A. elected 1658, *Architypographus*, was succeeded by Martin Bold, in 1669. Books printed *è Theatro Sheldoniano*, from 1671, have usually no printer's name to them. Henry Cruttenden printed a book at Oxford in 1688, wherein he calls himself one of his Majesty's printers."

or otherwise, in our favour, you will thereby oblige the University, and particularly,

Your very humble servant,

JOHN WALLIS.

These for the honoured Sa. Pepys, Esq. one of his Majesty's Commissioners for the affairs of the Navy. London.

PEPYS TO CAPTAIN TYRWHITT.

CAPTAIN TYRWHITT, April 24, 1688.

LEST by any accident you have not received the King's order under his own hand, sent yesterday from hence by your Lieutenant, Mr. Mackdonnell, I send you, by the King's command, this copy,* to meet you in the Downs, to supply

* "Copy of the King's order to Captain Tyrwhitt, going with several ships to Scotland, about forbearing to execute the 38th Article of their printed General Instructions.

"JAMES R.

"OUR will and pleasure is, that for sundry considerations us thereunto moving, you, with the rest of the commanders of our ships now under your command, do, respectively, forbear the execution of the 38th Article of your and their general printed instructions, touching the searching of foreign ships, &c. until further order.

"Given at our Court at Whitehall, this 23rd of April, 1688.

"By his Majesty's command,

"S. PEPYS.

"To Captain Tyrwhitt, commander of our ship the Nonsuch."

the want of the original, with which his Majesty expects your strict compliance.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

PEPYS TO CAPTAIN RIDLEY.*

CAPTAIN RIDLEY, April 27, 1688.

NOT knowing for some days past to whom to direct the enclosed as commander-in-chief in the Downs, in regard to my expectations of hearing hourly of Sir Roger Strickland's coming away, which I this day am given to understand he now is, I have respited the sending it sooner, and now direct it to you, with the addition of telling you it is his Majesty's pleasure that the same be carefully executed.†

Though I cannot doubt your observing this warrant, wrote all with my own hand, (which the multitude of despatches from this office seldom admit,) will naturally, together with the extraordinariness of its contents, lead you to judge it a paper not designed for common notice. Yet it being such, and expected by the King not to be

* "With a duplicate of the order, (word for word the same,) for the Commander-in-chief in the Downs, signed by the King, the 25th, but not sent away till the 27th, with the following letter under my own hand."—S. P.

† The warrant was directed, "To Captain Hugh Ridley, Commander of his Majesty's ship the Guardland, in the Downs."

unnecessarily published, I am to advise you, and do it under my own hand also, to issue your orders pursuantly hereto, under your own and no other hand, acquainting the commanders, to whom you are to write, that, for their caution, you are required to communicate this to them.

Though, I believe, Captain Tyrwhitt would, of his own accord, fall into the same consideration; yet lest he should happen in anywise to overlook it, I desire, if he be not gone out of the Downs when this arrives, that you make him also privy to the King's intentions, that his command be not exposed to anybody's knowledge but such as are concerned in seeing it well executed.

I am

Your very humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

MR. HAWER TO PEPYS.

Christ's Hospital, *Maii primo*, 1688.

WORTHILY, MOST HONOURED SIR,

ON supposal no needful care be wanting for the utmost improvement of the forty boys of his late Majesty's mathematical foundation * in their

* In 1673, the King gave 7000*l.* to build and furnish the school, and 370*l.* 10*s.* per annum for ever, paid out of the Exchequer. There have been three hundred and twenty-two instructed in mathematics since the foundation.

In 1706, "a new mathematical school was prepared and

skill in mathematics and navigation, nor any diminution nor alienation of the least part of the revenue or other provision, inviolate for that purpose, I am directed by our Committee of Schools to pray your honour to take into serious consideration, and give them your opinion, whether the Governors may not be permitted, with his Majesty's good liking and approbation, to admit a greater number of the children than these forty, to the study of mathematics and navigation. Wherein, Sir, you are humbly entreated to assist them, the rather because there appears a hopeful prospect, were we capable, of well disposing more than ten in a year of such as shall be so bred.

I am, Sir, to my utmost power,
Your most obliged and most humble servant,
NATH. HAWES.

MR. HEWER TO PEPYS.*

SIR, Navy-Office, May 4, 1688.

IN answer to yours of yesterday, this comes, in the first place, to let you know, that at my return to the office, my cousin Sergison, who was attending at the Treasury chambers in the after-

furnished at the sole cost and charges of Wm. Nicholson, one of the governors, Mr. Humphrey Ditton, master."

* "On occasion of the present debates, touching the best method of securing the King's ships in the river, off Chatham against the designs now apprehended from the Dutch."—MS.

Rawl. A. 186. 245

noon, in behalf of himself and the rest of the clerks, about their salary in arrear, though without success, acquainted me that he met Sir Richard Haddock and the rest of the Commissioners for victualling. The former acquainted him, among other discourse, that the old quarter designed by his Majesty to pay the men, was not to be paid till the week after his Majesty had been at Chatham. The poor men, I believe, (Thomas-like,) will have little faith, till they touch their money, having already been disappointed, after a promise. So his Majesty, being at Chatham, will not receive from the men the cheerful and hearty thanks he so justly deserves, for his particular care of them. But, according to Colonel Middleton's usual saying, in his Letters, matters must go as they may, in case they will not go as tends most to the King's honour and service.

I return you hearty thanks for the account you gave me yesterday of the debates and resolutions at Chatham, by the officers of the Navy and Masters of the Ordnance, relating to the security of his Majesty's Royal Navy at that place, being of so much moment to his Majesty's service, both in respect to his honour and the strength of his navy.

I am glad you have so fully opened and laid before his Majesty the said debates and resolutions taken at Chatham when you were there.

Happy the people of England in a Prince so understanding matters of this nature, as, of himself, to come to such resolutions as, in all human probability, will be found the best and safest for securing his navy, and justifying yourself hereafter, should any accident happen thereto, which God forbid.

Though it might reasonably be expected your long and faithful service to the Crown, without getting from it either estate or honour, might justly deserve from all a good esteem and value, yet, sir, (as I have often taken the boldness and freedom of telling you,) you are not without enemies, who think you serve the King too well, and would, if our master did not better understand his own interest, endeavour to do you and this office all the ill turns that can be contrived; but, as we need not fear any of them so long as we serve his Majesty in the station we are placed in with the faithfulness, industry, and diligence we have hitherto done, so, I trust, we are secure under our master the King, a Prince so good and just as not to be governed by hearsays, though those who, in this age, serve the King faithfully in public employments, are very unhappy by being misrepresented.

Though I dare not offer any advice in an affair of so great moment as this in hand; yet from long experience, and observations I have made of Sir Anthony Deane's proceedings, and

the good success his Majesty's service has already met with, I dare be bold to say, the advice given by him relating to this matter is good. My reason is, that while others give theirs only on present undigested thoughts, or from being prevailed on, his are on thoughtfulness, knowledge, and experience. However, I am glad his zeal for his Majesty's service on this debate at Chatham was so moderated, and that his Majesty takes in so good part the advices given by Sir Anthony Deane, who will, I dare say, be very glad in the resolution his Majesty has taken of calling Sir Richard Haddock and Sir John Tippetts for their joining with this board, and the Master of the Ordnance, in giving his Majesty their opinions on so weighty an affair.

I shall not fail to let you know, as you desire, when our Brethren come from Chatham, and then may be adjusted the method of our going and returning, as shall be most convenient to you.

In the mean time, begging your pardon for this undigested interruption, being from my zeal, as well for his Majesty's service as your safety,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Wm. Hewer.

DR. WALLIS TO PEPYS.

SIR, May 6, 1688.

THERE is, I understand, a petition, or complaint to his Majesty from the printers or stationers of London referred to the Attorney-General, on which, they tell us, they hope to have a *Quo Warranto* against us. The heads thereof, as I hear them, I have expressed in the enclosed paper, with a brief intimation of answers to them. From,

Sir,

Your very humble servant,

JOHN WALLIS.

To the Honoured Sa. Pepys, Esq. one of his Majesty's Commissioners for the Naval affairs.

DR. VINCENT TO PEPYS.

EVER-HONOURED SIR, Clare Hall, May 12, 1688.

THE best returns being, in some cases, the slowest, I do but now, in acknowledgment of your noble present of five-and-twenty pieces, for enriching my little study, humbly acquaint you, that I have determined the first part of my thanks shall be a second part of the earliest payment of my respects to you, and an enlargement of my *Conjectura Nautica*. I have not yet finished

it, but shall despatch it soon as you can expect, and before you can have leisure to peruse it.

In the mean time, I reckon myself obliged to tell you, that you may command not only my magnetical experiments, or either of the inventions whereof I showed you a specimen, but likewise, either for your worthy self, or, if you need it not, for any other secretary of state, my discovery of a cipher as easy as it is useful and secure. It requires no more trouble to write and read it than one's own hand. It may be fully acquired by once reading over a direction of less than twenty lines, and is undecipherable by any rules in that art yet extant; and by the addition of one of my experiments, which will scarce double the labour of writing it, I do believe no mortal pains or skill can detect it.

I remain, Sir,

Your most entirely devoted, humble servant,

NATH. VINCENT.

REV. JO. LOTON* TO PEPYS.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR, June 4, 1688.

LEST my refusal to read the Declaration,† (for sundry important reasons, and according to the

* "Minister of the Ordinary at Chatham."—MS.

† "1687, April 4, suspending and dispensing with the penal laws and tests, and even the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, on admission into offices civil or military. "Addresses

precedent of our Cathedral [Rochester, under Bishop Sprat] and the neighbouring clergy,) should interfere with and contradict my former promise, handed by you to his Majesty, I thought it my duty to make this humble application to your honour.

I do not recede from, but firmly adhere to my former obligation, though I cannot, in conscience, publish the Declaration for this amongst other reasons, that I cannot consent to the toleration of those heresies and doctrines which are contrary to Scripture, and condemned by the General Councils, and yet are tolerated by that general liberty. There is not the least doubt that my publishing it would be construed a consent.

I presume, Mr. Crew will be glad of this opportunity to make a second attempt on the navy, and I cannot reasonably expect your honour's protection. God's will be done! I must choose

" Addresses of thanks for this liberty were daily presented to his Majesty by the Dissenters, from all parts of the kingdom. Neither Anabaptists, Quakers, Independents, nor Presbyterians, delayed to make the highest professions of loyalty and gratitude on this occasion."

"1688, April 27, another Declaration for liberty of conscience, in which the former of 4 April 1687 is recited. May, an Order of Council, commanding the last Declaration of 27 April to be read in time of Divine service in all churches and chapels in London and Westminster, and ten miles distance, upon the 20 and 27 instant, and in all other churches and chapels in the kingdom on the 3 and 10 June."

suffering rather than sin, and will, by the grace of God, always walk by this rule, that popularity shall never corrupt my loyalty, nor loyalty my conscience. I will first give to God the things that are God's, and then to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.

That the blessings both of God's right and left hand may descend and remain on your honour, is and shall be the hearty prayer of,

Right Honourable,

Your Honour's most obedient servant,

Jo. Loton.

MR. RICHARD PEPYS TO PEPYS.

May it please your Worship, June 7, 1688.

Your humble petitioner, Richard Pepys, son of Samuel Pepys, now minister of Clifton, in Buckinghamshire, and grandson to Richard Pepys that was minister of Beesly, in Norfolk, most humbly lays before your worship the circumstances of his present fortunes, humbly praying your worship's known goodness to excuse the presumption of your meanest vassal.

May it please you, Sir, my education was a goldsmith; in which trade being set up, I was reduced by an unhappy marriage (the unthinking conduct of a violent passion) to a forced compliance to travel beyond sea for seven years. In

which time I have served the States of Holland in quality of a *reformado** against the Turks.

In obedience to the King's proclamation, I, your most humble petitioner, came for England with a purpose and resolution to serve my King. To that end, your petitioner most humbly prays your worship's favour to influence him in his Majesty's navy in any capacity your wisdom shall think him fit for. And your petitioner shall not only make it his care to discharge such trust with the courage and faith of a loyal subject; but shall also, as in duty bound, acknowledge himself,

Your thankful creature,

RICHARD PEPYS.

MR. WYNNE HOUBLON TO PEPYS.†

SIR, Epsom, July 5, 1688.

I DO not extremely wonder at your noble present, 'tis so like Mr. Pepys, but that you should fix on so inconsiderable a person as I am for the object of your generosity, is to me a very

* "An officer whose company or troop is disbanded, and yet he continued in whole or half-pay, still being in the way of preferment and keeping his right of seniority: also, a gentleman who serves as a volunteer in a man-of-war." — *World of Words.*

† "A letter of respect only, and acknowledgment of my present to him of my pad."—S. P.

great surprise; so that, in modesty, I ought not to credit my eyes that tell it me. But, when I reflect on all those obligations for which I and all my family are indebted to you, I cannot but conclude it must proceed from that inclination with which you have so long honoured our family, which, you must excuse me, if I call a blind one, since it has not been in our power to make you any return for that honour and the consequences that have attended it. All that we can do is only in wishes, which are (I durst be bold to answer for us all) as zealous as anybody's for your happiness, which, I 'll assure you, includes our own.

But, Sir, not to detain you too long from your extraordinary affairs, permit me to entreat you to consider a little further before you part with so good a servant as your horse may be to you; and suffer me only to have the honour of being his keeper for your service, that so I may bring him into such order as may render him worthy of such a master as yourself.

This employment only I beg of you to confer on me, which I should prefer before that of my Lord Dartmouth, since I am more your humble servant than any one's alive.

WYNNE HOUBLON.

MR. SAMUEL JACKSON TO PEPYS.

Foresight, in the Downs, July 20, 1688.

HONOURED SIR,

THIS day, we arrived from the wreck, though with the loss of our commander, Sir John Narborough, who died 26 May last,* as though Fate had decreed him to lie there, after he had settled all matters with the masters of vessels permitted to work on the wreck on certain conditions.

We had orders to sail 25th May. Weighing anchor, the small bower-cable broke. All the arguments Captain Stanley, Lieutenant Hubbard, and the rest could use, proved altogether ineffec-

* Leaving one son, an infant, created a baronet by James II. as a testimony of his high sense of the merits and services of his father. In 1680, Narborough had been made a Commissioner of the Navy; and, in 1687, had hoisted his flag on board the Foresight, as admiral of a small squadron in the Channel.

Among the miscellaneous MSS. of Pepys, (1683,) it is complained of Herbert, that he "never lay aboard, but on shore in state; while Narborough never lay once, nor ate a meal above twice or thrice ashore in all the time he was with the fleet at Tangier.

Having again mentioned Tangier, probably for the last time, I add, as not uninteresting, the following passages from a short correspondence between the Emperor of Morocco and Captain Cloudesly Shovel, edited by that learned orientalist, Simon Ockley, in his Account of South-west Barbary.

"1684, the Emperor, Muly Ismael, writes: 'God be praised! you have quitted Tangier, and left it to us to whom it did

tual: Sir John resolved not to leave the anchor behind, though, unfortunately, we left him. Whereupon we plied to windward all day, and at evening came to anchor as near the buoy as conveniently we could, and got it on board. At three, next morning, death put a period to our commander's life. In the evening we celebrated his obsequies in a manner as suitable to the occasion as place and company would admit.

I hope, honoured Sir, I have made such a progress in the art of navigation, by the assistance of one Matthew Jane, yeoman of the powder-room, to whom I am very much engaged for his voluntary pains and trouble in instructing me, that I doubt not to give your honour ample satisfaction.

May it please your honour, to Christopher

belong. From henceforward we shall manure it, for it is the best part of our dominions. As for the captives, you may do with them as you please, heaving them into the sea, or destroying them otherways.'"

Captain Shovel answers, as to the captives, "If they are to be disowned because they are poor, the Lord help them! Your Majesty tells us we may throw them overboard, if we please. All this we very well know; but we are Christians, and they bear the form of men, which is reason enough for us not to do it. As to Tangier, our master kept it twenty-one years; and, in spite of all your force, he could, if he had pleased, have continued it to the world's end, for he levelled your walls, filled up your harbour, and demolished your houses, in the face of your Alcade and his army; and when he had done, he left your barren country without the loss of a man, for your own people to starve in."

Mercer, the present gunner, appointed by Sir John to act in that station, I am extremely obliged for kindness and civility during the time of this voyage. He was seven years gunner's mate on board the James Galley, under the command of Captain Shovel, and hath a very large certificate, to whom, if your honour please to vouchsafe your favour, I doubt not but he will give you satisfaction concerning his sobriety, loyalty, and abilities for that employ, as may render him capable thereof, and which I humbly request.

I should not have dared, Sir, to give you this trouble, had not your honour's transcending goodness, and avoiding the sin of ingratitude, been the chief motives that encouraged me. Humbly craving your pardon for this bold presumption; and hoping your honour will put a favourable construction on these lines, and fearing lest by too much prolixity I should become troublesome, I subscribe myself,

SAMUEL JACKSON.

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL TO PEPYS.

SIR, King's Weston, Aug. 15, 1688.

SOME time ago, I troubled you with an account of three Danish ships then arrived. I now send you extracts of letters I received yesterday, touching those ships and their preparing to

depart.* Also, concerning a small vessel from the East-Indies, called the Resolution, Captain

* Among the Pepys MSS. is an extract of three letters from Mr. James Bofield to Sir Robert Southwell. In the first, dated Kinsale, 23rd July, 1688, the writer says:—

"The Danish admiral hath been in Cork about fourteen days. He was highly treated, and did highly treat. Our town, at his return, went to meet him, where he entered with great splendour. The same day entered a frigate of twenty guns from Denmark: she brought about fifty spare men, to man those ships.

"It is hard to persuade many of the Irish that the Danes have not a design in coming here, to see in what posture is their old country of Ireland, which they formerly conquered [Cent. viii]: also, that the great civility of the English, the plenty of the place, and the quick recovery of all their sick men, will induce them to get their old forts again.

"When, on this credulity, some of the Danes have been put upon it, in waggery, to tell the matter as a secret to some Irish gentleman, you would wonder to hear how far and fast the news has run, and how much credited by the commonalty of the natives. I fear several of the poor alehouse-keepers will lose by these Danes; for they run much on the score, though they have little to pay, nor have any goods been sold but a few pieces of callicoes and muslin."

Again, Kinsale, 24 July 1688:—

"Our Danish admiral is now in all haste to be gone. Though his coming hath occasioned the spending of a considerable sum, it will ruin several, for he will not pay his men's expenses, nor suffer them to land any of their goods to make satisfaction. Nor will he pay the English that come with him; but 'English dog!' is the best word they can now have."

Again, August 2, 1688:—

"Our great Danish ship is now preparing to be gone. Tom Chidley having done all things according to contract, yet was arrested on board by the water-bailiff. Our water-bailiff having arrested a Dane, the admiral caused him to be tied to the mainmast. As they were going to drub him, some townsmen

Samuel White,* commander. Also, concerning two ships of about forty guns each, victualling† at Baltimore,‡ their design unknown.

being on board, told the admiral it would be a bad day's work, since there was power in the hands of those on shore to arrest him also, if he offended against the King's laws; on which he did forbear. But 'tis to be doubted he will not pay the town's-people the scores of his men, which amount to above two hundred pounds. But if anything be paid, 'tis most probable it will be in coarse callicoes, and at great rates."

* By whom she was built in India, in a province of the kingdom of Siam. He brings news, "that few, if any, English East-India ships will come home this year, most of the men being dead from a famine in those parts." Such is the report of Mr. Boufield, in his letter to Sir Robert Southwell, 24 July 1688. He adds the following:—

"Pestilence and famine abounding about the English factories, whence they expected provisions and men, to come home. White and his crew were forced to go to a fort belonging to the Dutch, whence they had eight blacks and two Englishmen, but scarce any provisions." These, however, they procured from a Factory belonging to the French. From another Dutch Factory they got provision for their voyage to the Cape. In the Dutch town, (as they and the Danes say, a most pleasant and plentiful place,) they had plenty of all things. Thence they came here, and hasten to London, that the East-India Company may know the condition they are in, there being so many ships, and the men dead in the Bay of Bengal. In other parts, the English have gotten much wealth from the Moors."

† "For two years. They give great wages, buy blacks, and all materially, as if they went a far voyage. The poor men of this town who wanted employ have taken service with them. Some of the men talk of a voyage of three or four years, but will not declare what."—*Ibid.*

‡ A village in the County of Cork, with a good harbour; formerly a place of trade, but being plundered by the Algerines in 1631, never recovered itself.

By these accounts you will believe that, were there anything more material to acquaint you withal from that coast, you should not want it from, Sir,

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

MR. HILL TO PEPYS.

SIR, Rotterdam, August 19, 1688.

HAVING so opportune a bearer as Captain Fazeby to send you the *Novelles*,* I accompany them with a line or two of my respects, and to let you know our Monsieur Benage was not able, as I desired, to give an account of Mr. Newton's book, which is understood by few, but deservedly admired by all that understand it.†

But that is not so much the occasion of these, as to acquaint you how things go here a little.

* "Constitutions de l'Empereur Justinien, qui forment la quatrième et dernière partie du corps du Droit Romaine."—*Dict. l'Académie Française.* ii. 167.

"Many of his acts," says Gibbon, "were rescinded by himself; many were rejected by his successors; many have been obliterated by time; but the number of sixteen *Edicts*, and one hundred and sixty-eight *Novels*, have been admitted into the authentic body of the civil jurisprudence."

† The writer refers, no doubt, to the "Principia Mathematica Philosophiæ Naturalis," which first issued from the press, in 1688, and of which there was a French version by Madame du Châtelet.

Though the *Envoyé*, my old acquaintance these eighteen years,* may happily give you a more particular account, to whom (I have told him, writing these in his presence) I refer you. But this for certain: the East-India fleet is before the land, if not come in. *Actions* fell at Amsterdam thirty per cent., the cargo falling very short of expectation. Supposed to be fifty tuns of gold (five hundred thousand pounds): it proves not above thirty-two or thirty tuns.

The fleet here is doubled: twenty-two more men-of-war being added, fifteen from Amsterdam, and seven from this Admiralty of Rotterdam, other provinces contributing their quota, having not their ships so ready. These, 'tis supposed, will be out, next week. The occasion is, the increasing your fleet, but what the cause is, I must leave to your conjecture, or the Marquis† to unriddle; who will tell you, though I cannot, how, and perhaps why, the Court here, in their devotions, did at first pray for the Prince of Wales, then desisted for some time, and now again return to it. It is said, the Pope hath confirmed the election of the Prince of Bavaria, for Elector of Cologne, though I question it: and there is great bandying for the principality

* Captain Fazeby is mentioned in Pepys's Diary (June 2, 1666) as then commanding the Katharine yacht.

† ~~Perhaps~~ Marquis d'Albeville, who subsequently appears as a frequent correspondent of King James, from the Hague.

and bishoprick of Liege. The French forces lying upon the confines, occasions the army of the States to rendezvous for a review towards those parts, near Nimmeguen, op de Moocher-Heyde, the latter end of this month, or beginning of next.

My lord is a-going, and I must break off, though I shall never cease to be

Your most humble servant,

J. HILL.

MR. STOCK, OF DOVER, TO PEPYS.

HONOURABLE SIR, Smerzed, Aug. 25, 1688.

ALTHOUGH I continue in obscurity, it is not without some small intelligence from abroad. By the last post, have advice from Paris of the great likelihood of a war betwixt that King, Holland * and Spain. If it go forward, and the King stand neuter, the greatest part of the European trade must unavoidably fall into English hands, as it did in their last wars, which proved very advantageous to the English navigation, and might have more, but for some abuses, in nowise beneficial to his Majesty, but a charge in maintaining his ships to secure that trade, and a trouble to your honour in forwarding the same, with-

* An expectation soon realized; for on the 3rd December, this year, Louis XIV. declared war against Holland.

out the least profit, all which I would heartily give my helping hand to remedy, if I might be heard in such proposals as I could make, for the benefit and honour of the King, and the general good and advantage of the three kingdoms.

If this war go forward, the seas, especially the Channel, will be full of privateers of all sorts, who will not leave English shipping, going to their enemies' ports, unattempted, unless secured by his Majesty's ships to convoy them, as they were by his late Majesty; and that the King should be at charges to secure a foreign trade, without a compensation, is, in my weak capacity, unreasonable. None of the interested, I dare say, but would gladly allow the King a handsome loan towards it, if propounded.

I remember, when the King of Spain had wars only with Holland, all the Spanish Netherlands carried on their trade for Spain and France by way of Calais, to be secured against the Hollanders. But, in 1635, when France declared war against Spain, all that trade came to Dover, which, by a small composition on their goods, by agreement betwixt the King and merchants residing in Dover, brought into the King's Treasury from fifty to seventy thousand pounds per annum, and so continued, flourishing, to the great benefit and advantage of the navigation of England, till 1641, that the troubles began. So it slackened by degrees, till the Hollanders made

peace with Spain, which made the merchants withdraw from Dover, and the remaining trade with them. In consideration of the composition paid by the merchants, the King provided convoys as occasion required, for he always kept a considerable squadron in the Downs, commanded by Sir John Pennington, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Batten, and others.

If so small a part of Europe as only the Spanish Netherlands did bring so great a trade to the English navigation, and so considerable a revenue to his Majesty, what would the whole do if settled on the like foundation, with some alteration only in some particulars, I leave your honour to judge. If I had liberty to be at home, I believe I could, amongst my old papers, find a copy of those articles of agreement betwixt the King and the merchants, which none in Dover have but myself.

I humbly beg pardon for this presumption, and your favourable construction. It is the real zealous affection I have, and ever had, and ever shall have to serve his Majesty, that moves me; and I know not wherein to demonstrate the same so much as in proposing how his Majesty may raise a considerable sum with a great facility, and little charge, nor any burthen to his subjects, or any obligation to friend or foe. But without a personal conference I can do nothing, because of answering such objections as may arise. If I

have the favour of a line from your honour, please to direct to my house in Dover, when it will be sent hither.

With the tender of my most humble service, and thanks for all former favours, I, with all submission, subscribe myself, as I am, without reserve, Honourable Sir,

Your Honour's most humble, most obedient, and obliged servant,

ABRAHAM STOCK.

PEPYS TO ~~SIR ROBERT HOLMES~~* ~~AND~~ THE MAYOR OF HARWICH.

SIR, Admiralty, September 1, 1688.

AT my return from Windsor, where I had been some days attending the King, I met with yours of 28th ultimo, and have this day not only conferred with Sir A. Deane† on the subject of your desires, but, as most sensible of our obligations to yourself and our friends joining you, in behalf of the whole corporation,‡ have made

* Admiral; mentioned by Pepys in his Diary, in 1666, as a commander in the Dutch war.

† With whom Pepys had been chosen M.P. for Harwich in 1678 and 1685.

‡ The right of election was, in 1784, in the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesses resident within the borough. There were then thirty-one voters.

applications to effect the same, and shall pursue it with all the zeal and industry we are able.

Towards furthering which, if there be any special considerations more convincing than others, whereby the fitness of the town of Harwich for a custom-house may be best explained, pray, by the next, furnish two or three of them; on receipt whereof, I will make the best use I can of them, and of what more I may be able, with the help of Sir A. Deane, to suggest of my own, towards satisfying the Commissioners in the reasonableness and expediency of what is proposed. Nor can I any more doubt obtaining from those gentlemen any instance of their respect to him and me, consistent with his Majesty's interest, than I pray you to do our's in whatever may be advantageous to the interest of the town of Harwich.

Please, therefore, to accept our most humble services to yourself and the rest of the worthy gentlemen our good friends of the Corporation, assuring you of the utmost effects thereof on this and whatever other occasions you shall think fit to require the same.

I am, with due respect, Sir,

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

S. Pepys.

PEPYS TO Sir [illegible]

SIR, Admiralty, Sept 1, 1688.

I AM this afternoon surprised with advice of something of which I cannot be very apprehensive; yet, considering how much the dissatisfied party is likely to interpose in the approaching elections for Parliament, and how numerous and solicitous the same is at this day, in the place where my interest (with Sir A. Deane's) hath for some years lain,* I could not decline acquainting you with it, and with my earnest desire that, if you can, you will save me a berth within your government, should I (which yet I do not at all fear) be driven to trouble you.

Nothing but such a point shall make me offer at interrupting your purposes in reference to other friends; but I know the King's service, (with respect to the affairs wherein I am employed,) so far requires my being in Parliament that I dare not, without his knowledge, let it lie doubtful.

Wherefore, pray excuse my resorting to you in this matter, and favour me with one word of advice by the next. I am, with all respect,

Your most faithful humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

* Referring, ~~no doubt,~~ to Harwich, for which were chosen, in 1688, "Sir Thomas Middleton and John Eldred."

PEPYS TO THE MAYOR OF HARWICH.

SIR, Sept. 8, 1688.

I HAVE lessened, this week, by two or three days, my usual attendance on the King, at Windsor, in expectation of an opportunity of conferring with Sir N. Butler about the matter you propose. But so it is. Something hath fallen out by which he hath been kept from home the whole time, and I prevented speaking with him. But I doubt not meeting him at my next coming from Windsor, (where I must be at the Council to-morrow morning,) which may be in a few days. In the mean time, assure yourself and all our friends, that nothing will be omitted which Sir A. Deane and I can do, for promoting your desires.

Your letter of the 4th, I have received, but had not seen the paper you sent to Sir A. Deane when I wrote my last: I have since, and am in great hopes the arguments you, therein, allege will find good success towards obtaining your suit. Of which you may expect more in my next, as being, with all respect,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

My most humble services to all the gentlemen our friends about you.

PEPYS TO THE MAYOR OF HARWICH.

SIR, Saturday Night, Sept. 8, 1688.

I RETURN you many thanks for your very kind letter of the 3rd instant, and assure you I will not give you any trouble in the matter I mention, and wherein you so kindly take care of me, unless I meet with a disappointment (which I cannot yet imagine) in my old place. In which case, also, I shall be sure to acquaint the King with it, and take his directions, as having nothing at this time of day to make me solicitous for coming into Parliament, but the consideration of his service.

I had not (being at Windsor) received, when I wrote last, your former letter, about your wants, and your just resentments of the present condition of your government. I have since had it, and will not fail, at the Cabinet to-morrow at Windsor, to move and press the King in the particulars you mention, with hopes to give you some satisfactory reply the next week.

In the mean while, wishing you a fair riddance of your present cares, or being better enabled to support them,

I remain your most faithful, humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

PEPYS TO THE MAYOR OF HARWICH.

SIR, Admiralty, September 18, 1688.

I HAVE forborne troubling you with any addition to mine of the 8th instant, till I could see myself able to give you some assurance of success in the matter Sir A. Deane and I are endeavouring to obtain you satisfaction in, relating to the town of Harwich.

To do this, I am now in full condition, by letting you know I have this day received from Sir N. Butler a full declaration of his being convinced of the reasonableness of the proposal of having a customhouse there; and that it not only shall have all his furtherance and despatch, but that, as one instance of it, he did, by the last post, write to Mr. Bankes, the Collector at Ipswich, to repair to Harwich, to see what house he could find there most proper for the customhouse.

Of him, I doubt not but you will very soon hear: if not, pray let me know by a line or two, that I may be the better guided in my further applications; for neither Sir A. Deane nor myself will neglect any opportunity or industry in doing the same.

I am, according to my many obligations, the

Corporation's and your most faithful humble servant, S. PEPYS.

My most humble services to all my worthy friends, the gentlemen of your district.

SIR PHINEAS PETT* TO PEPYS.†

HONOURED SIR, Chatham Dock, September 21, 1688.

I HAVE received a letter from Lord Sunderland,‡ wherein, he acquaints me, his Majesty thinks fit I should stand to serve in Parliament

* "Mr. Phineas Pett, one of the King's shipwrights at Chatham," appointed, in 1604, "to build a small vessel for the amusement of the Prince Henry," was, no doubt, an ancestor of Pepys's correspondent. See Dr. Birch's Life of Henry Prince of Wales.

† "Touching the King's concession to his continuing still at Chatham, and about his standing for Parliament-man at Rochester."—MS.

‡ Who had been commissioned by the King to administer the royal influence over the expected parliamentary elections at Yarmouth, Newport, and Newtown.

"Upon the Duke's succeeding his brother," says Calamy, "Lord Sunderland was President of the Council, one of the High Commission Court, and Chief Minister, and at length reconciled to the Church of Rome. It was said, he was the person that prevailed with King James to refuse the 30,000 men offered him by France against the Prince of Orange, and for that reason, among others, laid aside, turned out of all his offices, and excepted from pardon in several declarations. He was also excepted by King William out of his pardon; and yet was afterwards again in the ministry, and, in 1697, Lord Chamberlain.

"There seems," adds Calamy, in his autobiography, "to

for Rochester, and desires I will lose no time in doing what shall be necessary to my election.

Lord Tenham * observed yesterday to his Majesty, at my house, that he heard it was reported about the country that his Majesty designed to remove me from this place, which, he feared, might prove very prejudicial to my election. His Majesty was pleased, concerning that affair, to discourse Sir Anthony Deane, who, I thank him, did me therein all the right imaginable.

His Majesty was also graciously pleased to discourse me about my health, on which, I acquainted him, I had it very well, and no gout for twelve

have been somewhat very singular in this lord's character, that he should have been so owned and disowned, so favoured and slighted on both sides. His conduct was much blamed at the Revolution, when he fled into Holland, and published a letter in his own vindication. He lived privately and retiredly at Utrecht, and was an auditor at the French church, where I often saw him."

"Lord Sunderland," says Burnet, "was a man of a clear and ready apprehension, and a quick decision in business. He had the dexterity of insinuating himself so entirely into the greatest degree of confidence with three succeeding princes, who set up on very different interests, that he came to lose himself so much, that even those who esteemed his parts depended little on his firmness."

Henry Earl of Clarendon, in his Diary, thus mentions this versatile courtier: — "1688, October 26. Lord Sunderland was dismissed being Secretary of State and President of the Council. Some would needs have, that he held a private correspondence with the Prince of Orange. God knows!"

* Illegible in MS.

months past; on which he seemed somewhat surprised. I withal told him, I hoped I had not any ways misbehaved, to deserve his displeasure. He told me, no, nothing of that kind: but I gathered by him that he had been misinformed as to my being troubled with gout much more than, I thank God! I really am. He was pleased to tell me that was the only cause that inclined him to any thoughts of removing me. On which his Majesty publicly declared to the mayor and aldermen of Rochester, that he believed Sir Phineas Pett would be very fit to serve them in Parliament; and told them I was their neighbour, and he was resolved so to continue me. He did also recommend Sir Henry Selby to serve them in Parliament as fit to speak for them. But after his Majesty went hence, on debate with the mayor, aldermen, and other friends, my Lord Tenantarm* present, it was thought advisable (for better securing my interest) for Sir Henry Selby to relinquish, which he accordingly did.

Sir, the only trouble I have now to give you in this affair is, that you will get the Bishop of Rochester to renew his desires and to signify to the Dean and Chapter his Majesty's pleasure for my being elected for Rochester. This, I pray you, good Sir, may be sent with all imaginable speed, in regard it will certainly be of vast advantage to me.

* ~~Illegible~~ in MS.

All I have to add is, that if your health and weighty affairs would permit you to countenance me with your presence in this matter at the election, I heartily make it my request. Of the time I shall take care to inform you.

Which will be a further obligation added to the many favours you have been pleased to confer on, Sir,

Your truly obliged and most faithful servant,

PH. PETT.

PEPYS TO DR. PEACHELL.*

SIR, Admiralty, September 25, 1688.

THE enclosed note† will, no less in the manner than matter, be surprising to you. But it being no more, in either regard, than I was once

* "Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge."—S. P.

† "SIR, York Buildings, September 25, 1688.

"I AM afraid you will wonder at this presumption, but I hope your goodness will pardon it, especially when the good of the Church of England is so much concerned.

"Sir, it is his Majesty's pleasure to appoint me to command his fleet for this expedition: and I cannot but think it of the highest importance to have the ablest and best man I can possibly obtain to go with me at this time, both for the service of God and the good government of the clergy that are chaplains in the fleet.

"My most earnest request to you is, that, if it be not too great an inconvenience, you would do me the honour and favour to go with me this short voyage. I beg it of you, for God's sake! and as I am to answer to Him for the preservation of so

concerned in the conveyance of, from the same hand and on the very same occasion, to my reverend friend Dr. Kenn, now Bishop of Bath and Wells, you will forgive me the same honest liberty with you.

It comes from my Lord Dartmouth, to whom his Majesty hath newly assigned the charge and honour of commanding the fleet, now fitting forth, as admiral. In a word, he is to the last degree solicitous in the choice of his chaplain, and judging all the qualifications (piety, authority, and learning) wished for therein meet abundantly in you, is become a most earnest suitor for your acceptance of that charge, and hath engaged me to further his suit.

Now, I cannot pretend to such a knowledge either of your circumstances or inclinations, as to dare to take upon me the offering any advice in a matter so solemn. This only I shall say, that in case you can find in yourself any disposition to embrace a proposal of this kind, I am, by full experience in the case of Dr. Kenn, convinced you could never do it with such a concurrence of circumstances, public and private, to render the

many souls as he hath been pleased to put under my care. I have nothing more, but to beg your prayers and blessing, with pardon for this confident desire from,

"Sir,

"Your most faithful humble servant,

"DARTMOUTH."

"Rev. Dr. Peachell."

same worthy your acceptance as under the invitation and patronage of this noble lord.

To which, therefore, I shall add nothing more than my advice, that, whatever the resolution be to which you shall come in this affair, you will not long omit to give his lordship (or me on his behalf) some return hereto, he having but very few days to turn himself in, for his repair to his charge. I am,

Honoured Sir,

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

S. Pepys.

DR. PEACHELL TO PEPYS.

Magdalene College, Cambridge, Sept. 27, 1688.

Honoured Sir,

Being out yesterday, I had not yours till this morning. The contents, as you say, surprised me, and I cannot immediately determine myself; but to-morrow, by a carrier, I'll give you a full answer,* which will be with you by Saturday noon. Thirty years ago I had a little itch to such

* Thus printed from the original, to Pepys, in the Bodleian: —

"Honoured Sir, Magd. Coll. 7ber 28th, '88.

"I have cast up my thoughts and affairs, and find that I cannot possibly put myself and them in order to be in a readiness to receive his lordship's favour and honour offered me, so soon as I presume his service will necessarily require. 'Tis true, my concerns are more other men's than mine own; but

a service; but now am as old again, and encumbered with business: therefore desire twenty-four hours to consider and compare. My most humble duty and thanks to the Honourable Lord Dartmouth, whose expressions are so full of respects to God, the practice of religion, and myself, that they not only affect, but a little afflict me. From you both, I receive it as an instance of great kindness, and more esteem than I deserve, and rest, Sir,

Your ever obliged servant,

J. PEACHELL.

ORDER OF COUNCIL.*

Council Chamber, Whitehall, October 1, 1688.

Present, the King's most excellent Majesty, in Council.

MR. PEPYS, Secretary of the Admiralty, being directed by his Majesty to prepare a draught of

pressing and binding me more than if they were wholly mine own.

"I beseech you, Sir, with my most humble thanks to his honour, acquaint him with this my answer and circumstances, which I am not particular in, 'cause I would not be tedious or impertinent. I shall daily pray for his lordship's safety, honour, and success; and ever be his and your bounden servant,

"J. PEACHELL."

* "Directing Mr. Pepys to prepare instructions for the Lord Dartmouth, how to behave himself towards the Dutch fleet, to prevent their invading this nation."—MS.

instructions for the Lord Dartmouth, admiral of the present fleet, for enabling and requiring him to use his utmost endeavours to prevent the fleet of war expected from Holland from approaching any part of the coasts of this kingdom, or making any descent thereon —empowering him, in the execution thereof, to proceed to all acts of hostility against the said fleet—the same was, accordingly, by him proposed, and presented at the Board, in the following words, viz.

Whereas, we have received undoubted advice, that a great and sudden invasion from Holland, with an armed force of foreigners and strangers, will be speedily made in an hostile manner upon this our kingdom; our will and pleasure is, that all necessary orders being by you issued for the hastening our several ships and vessels now fitting forth, out of the rivers Thames and Medway, and from Portsmouth, together with those already at sea under the command of Sir Roger Strickland, Knt. vice-admiral of our said fleet, to their intended rendezvous at the Buoy of the Nore; you do, with all diligence, repair on board our ship, the Resolution, Captain William Davis, commander, or such other of our ships as you shall now, and at any time or times hereafter, think fit to bear our flag, (as admiral,) on taking upon you the charge and conduct of our said fleet, and what other ships shall, at any time hereafter, be by us set forth for reinforcing the same.

Which fleet, and every part thereof, we, out of our entire reliance on your approved loyalty, valour, circumspection, and experience, do hereby authorize and empower you to lead, and, by your orders, direct and dispose of at all times, and in all emergencies, as you, in your discretion, shall judge most conducing to our honour, and the security of our dominions; particularly, in the preventing the approach of any fleet or number of ships of war from Holland, on any of our coasts, or their making any descent upon the same.

Towards your more effectual execution whereof, we hereby further empower and require you to endeavour, by all hostile means, to sink, burn, take, and otherwise destroy and disable, the said fleet and ships thereof, when and wheresoever you shall meet with, or otherwise think fit to look out for and attack the same, giving a frequent account of your proceedings therein to the Secretary of our Admiralty, for our information. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, this first day of October, 1688. By his Majesty's command.

To our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor,
Lord Dartmouth, Admiral of our Fleet.

The said draught being read, was approved and signed by his Majesty at the Board.

Wm. Bridgeman.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO PEPYS.*

SIR, On board the Resolution, October 4, 1688.

THE enclosed list of ships under my command has expressed the number of men, quantity of provisions, and their condition for sea, or otherwise. Some, as the list mentions, are in very ill condition, considering the season of the year. I therefore earnestly desire some of the Commissioners may be immediately sent, for the more effectual despatch in refitting or otherwise, as shall be thought necessary.

Yesterday, at Chatham, I found the Elizabeth and the Pendennis ready, and gave them orders to fall down, which they have done this day, and are now at the Black Stakes. Sir Phineas Pett, commissioner there, acquainted me the Newcastle is out of dock, and wants nothing but rigging; therefore I desire her captain may be ordered down, to attend her readier despatch.

At six this evening I received yours of the 3rd of October, which, in the first place, requires my kind thanks for your good wishes and congratulations.

I observe, by the said letter, his Majesty hath approved and ordered the Fire-drake's complement to be augmented to seventy-five men.

* "Giving a particular account of his proceedings at the Buoy of the Nore, and the state of the ships of his squadron, and fitting to join with it."—MS.

I take notice of the consultation you have had with many of the principal Brethren of Trinity-House, and your debates on the following heads:—

First, Staving, or taking up and removing the most considerable buoys in the mouth of the river.

Next, Furnishing the fleet with some knowing pilots about the Borough-Deeps.

And, lastly, Captain Langley of Harwich, his propositions for demolishing or removing the light at that place.

On all which weighty points, when Captains Atkinson, Greenhill, and Ayler, of that society, (whom I perceive you are sending down to me,) shall be here, I will resolve, with them, what may conduce most to the King's service.

I observe his Majesty's concurrence with, and result on my opinion, that it is more proper for his service that the fleet should rather go to sea with less than four months' provisions, as formerly ordered, than be retarded. However, I hope no new undertaking, or interruption given to the Commissioners of Victualling (as they allege) in providing for the garrisons, will be allowed any way to retard their despatch of the necessary provisions for the fleet; which with great earnestness I press all I can to get out, as believing they will be first on service. For, had each ship a supply of provisions, though for less

than two months, and was tolerably manned, (which I hope they will be in a very little time,) I would not stay here two hours.

However, you may observe by this, and my former accounts of the ships in the rivers of Thames and Medway, that it is not one or two ships that are backward in their provisions, but several of the most considerable.

As to the affairs from the Office of Ordnance, I have received his Majesty's general orders concerning the fleet, and I have, by this post, remitted to that Board my desires and direction.

I have sent Captain Shovel your letter; and though I should be very glad to oblige him in his seeming reasonable request, yet being of your opinion, that the sparing such an officer from the fleet at this conjuncture, when action is every day expected, may be very inconsistent with the service, I have not determined what to do, but will speak with him to-morrow. But as for Captain Neville, he is so much and so necessarily employed in fitting the rear-admiral's ship, that I do not think it reasonable to part with him.

I hinted to you, in a former letter, that Captain Cotton was not here, but that I had very great need of him, especially for expediting those ships in the river. None are yet come but the Guernsey and Ruby, nor have I so much as heard from any of the rest; but I desire you will send for

him to his house at Cherry-Garden Stairs, near Redriffe.

Just now are arrived Lord Ballow with seventy-two soldiers of the Duke of Grafton's regiment, and Lord Shenton, with thirty-six of Lord Craven's, which shall be put on board ships, as they may be most serviceable.

I have, this day, ordered the Portsmouth and Lark to go for Orford-Ness, to relieve the Deptford and Dartmouth, hoping by this time they have procured some men on that station, as I have given orders to these to do.

I earnestly desire you will write to Portsmouth, to hasten the ships fitting there; the Sandaloes remaining in the Downs, to give them orders to come hither. But if I sail hence before they join me here, I shall send them further orders where to meet me.

Just as I was closing this letter, one of the smacks returned from the coast of Holland, where they had so bad and thick weather, that they could discover but seven sail of great ships riding off the Maes: so that, if these winds and weather continue any time, I have yet great hopes of being at sea before them.

Sir, I am

Your most humble servant,

DARTMOUTH.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO PEPYS.

SIR, Resolution, October 5, 1688.

THIS morning, Captain Greenhill, with other Brethren of the Trinity House, came on board. We advised on the subject mentioned in your letter sent me yesterday, and herewith you have a copy of our result.* I also gave them a list of ships that want pilots, of which you have herewith a copy.

There is a general want of necessaries for sick men through all the fleet. Some ships want chirurgeons; others, chests and medicaments; and

* Resolution, in the Buoy of the Nore,
Friday, 5th of October, 1688.

PRESENT.

George Lord Dartmouth, Admiral

Sir Roger Strickland	Captain Atkinson	Elder Brethren of Trinity House.
Captain Davies	Captain Greenhill	
Captain Collins	Captain Aylos	

It was agreed,

"That the Buoy of the Gun-fleet should be removed to the inside of the land, taking care to lay it to the same bearing as now it doth.

" That when the Buoy of the Gun-fleet is removed, a smack is constantly to ride where the Buoy now lies, to give our own ships and the trading-vessels notice, till the scouts give notice for him to come away; and then to come up to the Nore to the admiral's for further directions.

" That vessels be provided to lie ready to take up the Buoys at the heaps and spits, and the Buoy at the west-end of the middle, when the scouts shall give notice.

" That the Trinity House send proper men and smacks for

generally there wants a review of most of the surgeons' chests, of which, I hope, Mr. Pierce will speedily take care. If he can be spared, I would gladly he come to me himself; if not, to send some other fit person to do what at present may be needful for the service.

Captain Cotton is come this morning, by the Kitchen yacht, which carries this to you. I have sent him up the river to hasten the ships all he can; and to wait on you for his commission, which I pray may be despatched, in regard of the great help I expect from him.

Of the soldiers the Duke of Grafton sent, and

the execution of this, and receive such further directions from the admiral, as may be necessary for his Majesty's service; and that they give directions for removing the low light at Harwich to the southward, enough to lead them upon the ridge.

"That the Trinity House will inquire for a pilot to carry us through the Burough Deeps, if there should be necessity, and I will send to see, at Feversham, to get one from thence.

"That the Trinity House will forthwith send an able pilot to be constantly on board the Resolution, and as many more as the fleet wants, whereof a copy is herewith delivered them."

List of the ships now wanting pilots:—

Crown	Pendennis
Half-moon	Newcastle
Falcon	Woolwich
Sampson (fire-ship)	Rupert
Defiance	Fire-drake
Resolution	Antelope
Henrietta	St. Alban's
Cambridge	Swallow.
Elizabeth	

Lord Craven's regiment that arrived last night, I have disposed as followeth, viz. 36 to the Defiance, 30 to the Rupert, 20 to the Mary, and 22 to the Elizabeth. I could heartily wish, for hastening the service, that more could be spared; which I most humbly submit to his Majesty's consideration.

I am obliged again to put you in mind of hastening the provisions, and that somebody from the Victualling Office may speedily come down, thoroughly to inform themselves of what is necessary, that at least these ships that want most, may be provided for present service.

I hope some Commissioners of the Navy are coming, for here are demands from Commanders which I am not willing to credit, till Commissioners be present to judge, especially as to the rigging of most of the new-fitted fire-ships, represented to be in no condition to go to sea.

On the whole, pray represent to his Majesty the extraordinary desires I have, and the endeavours I use, to get out the fleet. I hope, if the winds continue fresh, as they are, (blowing hard at W.N.W.) they will not only gain me the necessary time, but will, I believe, cause the enemy to spend their time uneasily.

Sir, your humble servant,

DARTMOUTH.

Sir, I am to desire you to recommend Lieutenant Bullen and Lieutenant Shenton to his Ma-

jesty, for their great care and diligence in bringing the soldiers; but Lieutenant Bucknall took pretence of want of orders, and left the men to go as they pleased, if these two gentlemen had not been more than ordinarily careful.

PEPYS TO LORD DARTMOUTH.*

MY LORD, October 5, 1688. O. S.

I SHALL not offer any comment, much less any charge, to deliver from his Majesty; I therefore leave it entirely to you to make what use you think reasonable of this information.†

* "Enclosing an extract of Marquis d'Albeville's letter to his Majesty, (Hague, 7th October, 1688, N. S.) for so much as relates to the Dutch affairs."—S. P.

† "Herbert is gone, with some English volunteers, to the fleet, to sail towards England, that they may remain masters of the sea, before they land. The men-of-war sailed yesterday from the Texel to join the fleet. By what computations I can make, the Prince will not embark till the middle of next week, though some think on Monday next. They daily embark his baggage.

"The fleet being sailed, with orders to fight your Majesty's fleet, it is believed they will wait for the success, of which they doubt not, (being far more numerous,) unless your Majesty's fleet retire to Chatham.

"They speak of Portsmouth, but I am informed they will certainly land at Ramsgate and Margate, where they have already magazines of provisions."—*D'Albeville*, King James's ambassador at the Hague. See Coke's *Detection*.

This only you and I know, that the King, many days ago, suggested as a thing of which he was not without some apprehension, that the Dutch might have it in their eye to make Kent their landing-place,* (not at Ramsgate or Margate, but elsewhere,) in order to make themselves masters of Chatham, and the ships there.

In consequence still of this thought of his,

* Their embarkation had been witnessed, with no common interest, by the celebrated biographical historian of the Nonconformists, Calamy, then pursuing his academical education at Utrecht. He thus describes what he witnessed, and how he manœuvred on this occasion,

"The Prince's *Declaration* (Oct. 10, 1688) was printed in English, French, and Dutch, before the sailing of the forces; and I myself sent an account of the substance of it in a letter to a friend in London by the mail, without any name to it, before any such thing had been commonly seen there. Of all the English, who crossed the sea into Holland in great numbers, the persons most confided in by the Prince, were, Mr. Russell, afterwards Earl of Orford, and Mr. Sydney, afterwards Earl of Romney. These carried over papers subscribed by the great men of England, which prevailed with the Prince to engage in that expedition.

"I went to Rotterdam, and saw some of the forces embark for England. They had public prayers in all the churches every day, an unusual thing in that country; and I observed the ministers prayed for a north-east wind by name, which would bring the forces from thence to the best advantage.

"There was an universal consternation when the Prince was driven back by the storm: but when they got out to sea again with a fair wind, and especially when we had an account of their safe arrival at Torbay, the rejoicing all over Holland was beyond what words could express."—See "Life of Calamy."

"October 1. The Prince of Orange published a *Declaration*,

seconded by what is hinted in this paper, he thinks it may not be unuseful for you to take fresh rise from hence, to consider what has been heretofore in discourse recommended to you by him, about the buoys at the mouth of the river, as far as staving, removing, shifting, or misplacing them, may be of any use.

He was also pleased to think it not unworthy to be offered to you to consider, if such a thing should be as landing in Kent, and prevailing over the King's troops, so as to be able to come to Chatham, and there stopped by his party's maintaining against them the great pass of Rochester Bridge, how far it may be practicable and advisable to think of hauling his ships to the off-side of the river, in respect to their better security.

This, my Lord, I leave with you, as knowing how much his Majesty (who, I believe, will write something to you about it himself by this post, he telling me he intended it) depends on your improving to its best advantage everything here noted to you. S. PEPYS.

with the reasons of his intended expedition to England, viz. to facilitate the calling a free parliament, and to inquire into the birth of the Prince of Wales," &c.— *Chron. Hist.*

"October 15. — The Prince of Wales christened; his Holiness, (represented by his nuncio,) godfather. The depositions of forty persons of honour, (of whom twenty-three were Protestants,) as to the certainty of the Prince of Wales's birth, were taken and enrolled in Chancery."—*Ibid.*

LORD DARTMOUTH TO PEPYS.*

I READ the abstract of Marquis d'Albeville's letter, but, indeed, do not give much credit to his intelligence, not thinking their designs can be so loose as to come to his knowledge, or that Margate or Ramsgate is a fit place for their purpose: besides, his Majesty may quickly know whether, as surmised, they have any magazines, or people intending to receive them, in Thanet. I rather believe their fleet will endeavour to attack me, while their army goes to some further distance. But Margate Road lies both open to the sea, and for the passage over the flats; and the tides will now be soon lifting; and I have people enough that understand all these sands, to be well able to take all advantages upon them.

As for hauling the great ships over to the other side of the river, I know it hardly practicable of a sudden, nor would it signify much. But you must be sure to be masters of all the small vessels and boats in the river, to have what small shot and men you can get in them, and have the batteries well manned with gunners, the ordinary, and what watermen you can get.

When I have a little leisure, I will row into

* "Reflections and advice, on Monsieur d'Albeville's late intelligence touching the purposes of the Dutch fleet."—S. P.

the Swale,* and see how the fireships lay, and how they are fitted. But 'tis impossible they can land that way, but we shall be able to give them disturbance. Nor can they do it so quick, but the King's forces will have time to get together. Indeed I could wish the Lord-Lieutenant, and the Governor of the Cinque-Ports, had a little more interest to serve the King withal, for, I fear, if anything distastes the country, it is they. But the King can judge best what is for his service, and we ought to make the best of our bad trade.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO PEPYS.

SIR, Resolution, October 19, 1688.

YOURS of the 17th came yesterday by express. I notice the great preparations the Dutch are making, as well for land as sea; and I kindly thank you for your intelligence; hoping, as far as is in my province, I shall be able to do the service his Majesty expects, the fleet being now in a pretty good posture, and the provisions distributing apace by the presence of Mr. Fen, one of the Commissioners for Victualling, who gives

* East and west, the two branches of the Medway. The east branches off to the right, and runs south of Sheppey, and joins the Thames below Shellness. The west, or main stream, proceeds due north, and joins the Thames at Sheerness.

great life to the vigorous despatch of the ships, by Mr. Stevenson their agent.

We are still at the Ooze-Edge, which is for the better, considering our despatch, and that the winds hang easterly. However, (unless I receive his Majesty's command to the contrary,) I design, as soon as convenient, to fall down to the Gun-Fleet, that being, I judge, in many respects, the properest post. Which is not only my opinion, but the deliberate result of a consult of the flag-officers, and the ablest masters and pilots of the fleet.

I cannot but very much esteem and applaud the great zeal and hearty care you testify in pressing so earnestly to strengthen the fleet by all the ways and means you can think of; particularly, by moving his Majesty to order to their commands (where their good inclinations would be better demonstrated) the captains of those ships appointed for his service, who, you say, are still paying their court at Whitehall. I hope your endeavours (which, I must again do you the justice to own are very fervent) will have one wished-for success, in causing them (at least, in jealousy of their own honour at this time) so to do. Then, I doubt not but Captain Cotton and the victuallers (as, you say, they promise) will do all they can to despatch them out of the river; for, considering the strength that threatens us, we shall want them.

I pereeive, by yours, that the signals for the rear-admirals were shipped, and that Sir Roger Strickland had his before. But in those sent me there is omitted a yellow flag, and striped flags of red, white, and blue, which I desire may be despatched to me. The Quaker, ketch, being clean, is gone from the coast of Holland.

The reason I did not, before now, mention to you a judge-advocate, was, because Mr. Croon advised me he would accommodate that matter with Mr. Bowles. But I do not understand from Mr. Bowles that he has made such proposals to him as he is willing to accept, without my injunction. In which matter I will not enter, as to what relates to their agreement. But because it is not fit the fleet should be without such an officer, Mr. Croon not having sent him (other than by an imperfect letter) a sufficient power or deputation to act, I have given him my warrant, dated the 11th instant, in the same form as I gave Mr. Atkins at Tangier.

I remark, that the old Commissioners of the Navy, by virtue of a new Commission opened Monday last, are restored to that Board: upon which you proposed to his Majesty that the Comptroller, or Surveyor, should come down to me, and that accordingly it was agreed on, till an advice came to the King that the fleet was fallen down to the Gun-Fleet, which prevented it. I again renew my desires that one of them

may be spared to me, if it should happen I be at the Gun-Fleet ere he comes, (though these winds will not yet permit my going thither,) for I believe it necessary on many regards: the judging what tenders will be convenient to the fleet is none of the least.

The Kitchen, yacht, came to me this day, which brings 71 of the second 200 men ordered from Watermen's Hall: which, though you tell me are the remaining part of the said 200, they do, with the 55 received by the Navy yacht, make but 126. I cannot call them men, for they are sorry lads indeed, and such as some of the captains they were ordered to (for instance, Sir Wm. Booth) would not receive. I have this day held a council of war, when it was ordered, that, on a general muster, particular lists should be made by each ship of the fleet, of what fishermen and watermen were put on board them. On the returns, I shall be able to tell you in what manner these societies have performed, by comparing them with the papers you sent me.

I have this day ordered the Advice and Jersey to cruise off Orfordness, and relieve the Portsmouth and Lark, who are ordered to the Gun-Fleet, there to be under the command of Captain Shovel; as is the Ruby, which now goes to him from the fleet.

Finding some warrant-officers wanting in the fleet, and others superannuated, or otherwise not

fit for the service, I have placed some in their rooms, and shall, I believe, to some others, be obliged to do the like. In doing whereof, I shall take care to put in good men, well recommended, (by certificate, &c.) and well qualified for the service. I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

DARTMOUTH.

Sir, I heartily thank you for your kind observations, and shall govern myself with all the caution and safety that may be to his Majesty's fleet.

For God's sake, let me have as much light as you can into what his Majesty thinks best for his service; for it is all my study to serve him to the best I am able, or as he can desire.

PEPYS TO CAPTAIN LANGLEY.*

Admiralty, ~~October~~ 27, 1688.

THE service you so frankly proposed to do for his Majesty, in the case of the Holland fleet's attempting to come into the river of Harwich, has been prevented, by its betaking itself elsewhere. You may, nevertheless, have been at some expense in preparation; and being very unwilling you should be any loser by your good-will to the King, especially in a matter wherein I happened

* Of Harwich.

to be the instrument of encouraging you, on his Majesty's behalf, to go through with it, I thought it becoming me, while in a capacity of doing it, (for, as matters stand, I know not how little awhile I may be so,) to call on you for an account, or at least for what you demand from the King on that score. This I desire to have without delay, that I may take immediate care for your satisfaction. Not that I despair, far as things are gone, of God Almighty's having a blessing still in reserve for the King, the government, and laws, and, in an especial manner, for the discipline and doctrine of the Church of England; and that, these things being safe, I may yet live not only to witness my respect to you for the zeal you so voluntarily expressed to the King on so signal an occasion, but to the whole Corporation of Harwich, particularly in the two points lately mentioned, making it again the seat of the King's service, as heretofore, as also of that lately proposed, the custom-house, about which last I have said something to Mr. Mayor also by this post.

We cannot be long without some considerable action at sea, yet under the present doubtful state of things, I desire that, if possible, Sir Anthony Deane and I may bring that about, and lay at least a good foundation for the other, while we are in port, that may enable us to do service both to the King and the Corporation. To which purpose, if you can save the next post in letting me hear

from you about all or any of these matters, pray do. I am, Your very humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

Take notice to Mr. Townes, that I desire the same from him, in case he has been at any charge.

I yesterday received a letter from Jamaica, signifying the death of my Lord Duke of Albemarle,* the 6th day of October, 1688.

* "A generous, indolent, good-natured man," says Granger, "who sunk a considerable part of the estate (400,000*l.*) which his father left, and shortened his own life, by indulging in his pleasures, especially those of the bottle.

"He was the chief promoter of Captain Phipp's famous scheme of fishing on a Spanish wreck off Hispaniola, by which 300,000*l.* in silver were recovered from the bottom of the sea, where it had lain forty-four years. He had 90,000*l.* to his share, and the Captain 20,000*l.* In 1687, a medal was struck on this occasion, of which there is a print in Evelyn's *Numismata*. The Duke was appointed, the same year, governor of Jamaica.

"Sir Hans Sloane, his physician, with great industry and judgment, collected materials for his 'Natural History of Jamaica,' during his residence in that island."—*Biog. Hist.* See concluding note in "Memoirs of George Monk:" also Evelyn's *Diary*.

While this page is passing through the press, I quote the following from the same interesting Diary.

"1688. 14th October. The King's birth-day. No guns from the Tower, as usual. The sun eclipsed at its rising. Wind, hitherto west, was east all day. Wonderful expectation of the Dutch fleet. Public prayers (which the bishops were enjoined to prepare) ordered to be read in the churches, against invasion."

PEPYS TO LORD DARTMOUTH.*

Admiralty. Saturday, midnight,
November 10, 1688.

My Lord,

Mine of last night, (enclosing one from his Majesty,) acknowledged the receipt of your lordship's of the 8th current, brought me by Mr. Hodder, with a bag of letters taken in a Dutch packet-boat.

This comes express, by the same hand, to let your lordship know, that partly from an apprehension that the said papers, and more especially the list of their fleet, which, with the plan of their camp, you sent me under your own cover, were not long enough in your hand to make any leisurely reflection thereon; and partly, that neither his Majesty nor you might want the benefit of what, by any observations, I could collect from the same.

I have been endeavouring to make the most exact comparison I can of his Majesty's force now at sea under your lordship, with that of the Prince under Admiral Herbert. The result, as containing somewhat no less welcome than surprising, I thought it my duty to represent to his Majesty, (as I did this evening at the Cabinet,) showing that, contrary to the impressions universally received touching the inequality of the

* "Giving him his comparison of the two fleets."—S. P.

two fleets, greatly to the advantage of the Dutch, as superior both in number and force to yours, the odds in number is very inconsiderable, and in quality (as much as there is any) appears to incline to his Majesty's side. For the credit of the list on which this comparison is founded, his Majesty and my lords* do not find any reason for questioning it, as observing the same, together with the plan of the army, to have been sent under cover of the letter, which came together with them from your lordship to me, designed for the use of the Elector of Brandenburgh. Which being so, his Majesty hath, with the advice of my lords, commanded me to give your lordship by express (as I now do by the hand of Mr. Hodder) the same I have now mentioned, they deeming it of very great importance to his Majesty that your lordship should, without delay, have it before you, in order, first, to your satisfying yourself in the validity and justness of my calculation; and then, that your lordship, on considering all circumstances, may, according to the fulness of the power lodged in you from his Majesty on that behalf, proceed to make such use thereof as you shall conceive most conducing to his honour and service.

What I have to add, my Lord, is, with relation to the vessel wherein these papers were found, and the fly-boat taken with the soldiers.

* Of the Council.

Touching which, and what other like vessels may happen to be brought in, you desire to be directed as to their disposal. Wherein I am to let your lordship know that you may very soon expect his Majesty's resolution more amply under his own hand, he having been pleased at present to command my signifying to your lordship in the mean time, that he would not in anywise have anything done on his part upon so small an occasion as that of making prize of a poor merchant vessel or two, taken up by pressing or hire, as transports only, and which, in their true value, can be to him hardly worth their keeping, but may, untimely, give countenance to acts of violence on their side, of much greater prejudice to the trade of his Majesty's subjects, and his own revenue depending thereon, and draw on other consequences which his Majesty seems most desirous of avoiding. I am,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most faithful and obedient servant,

S. Pepys.

My Lord, Postscript.—Near one in the morning.

I am just now come from his Majesty, who, after perusing and approving what I have here wrote, was pleased to bid me add for your information, in case you should think of anything that way, that he hath not heard anything of the

Dutch fleets being removed from Torbay, where they were at their army's descent:* more than that, some of their vessels with stores and guns which were at Exmouth are gone to Topsham.

You will find enclosed the Dutch list of their fleet, with a translation in English of the letter accompanying it, and the land camp, and my comparison of the two fleets.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO PEPYS.†

Downs, November 11, 1688.

I AM extremely sensible of your care and kindness to me in yours of the 8th instant, under your own hand. This day I received the effect of yours, by a letter from his Majesty, which hath extremely eased my very sorrowful heart.

You know I have long been hardened to ill usage; and though my Lord Sandwich is often in my thoughts, yet I can scarcely forbear thinking of pushing more than my own reason would otherwise prompt me, for I have good reason to believe the list of their ships before you, was made before the storm ‡ which first drove them

* Nov. 5, 1688. "A Declaration," says Evelyn, "was published, prohibiting all persons to see or read the Prince's manifesto."—*Diary.*

† "About the state of affairs, in reference to the fleet."—S. P.

‡ "October 19. The Prince of Orange sets sail from Holland, with about 50 men-of-war, 300 transports, and about 14,322

back, and that their flags changed into bigger, or that they had their last supply of ships.

Yet, I call God to witness, no concern of myself makes me so uneasy as the thoughts of the unnatural usage his Majesty meets with, and all his affairs are anxiously before me. Pray, endeavour to let mine, this night, to the King, be answered effectually, as soon as possible, for this step I am going to make is of the greatest consequence. Sir John Berry and Davies seem mighty averse to it.

What is become of the ships from the River, I cannot imagine. I thought to have bettered myself by coming hither; but, to my great disappointment, I find my loss in the Montague, Centurion, and Assurance, greater than any recruit I am likely to have; so that nine-and-twenty men-of-war are all I am likely to depend on, and several of them in no very good condition. I have great confidence that George Aylmer and Gifford will make good haste to me. Pray, encourage them, and whatever ships are fitting, to make the best despatch they can. You know how far I am victualled, and that must be thought on, timely. Cables, anchors, sails, and long-boats must be sent. This time of the year we shall always be upon the losing hand, and the weather

land-forces, accompanied by Earls Shrewsbury and Macclesfield, and other English gentlemen of quality."—*Chron. Hist.*

is one of my greatest and constantest enemies I am to expect.

I have no answer yet from you to mine of the 8th, and I would be glad to know what I am to do with any vessel falling into my hands, and how to proceed with all Dutch ships; for, as yet, you know I am in the dark, my instructions being only, if I had met them upon their invading.

Sir, I can never enough acknowledge your share in my sufferings, even from Tangier to the Long-sands' head, &c. But I am heartily,

Your most obliged humble servant,

DARTMOUTH.

THE KING TO PEPYS.*

JAMES, R. November 12, 1688.—At midnight.

I SEND you here enclosed my letter to Lord Dartmouth, without being sealed, that you may read it and then send it forward.

J. R.

For Mr, Pepys.

* "Accompanying a letter of his Majesty's, for him to peruse and send forward to Lord Dartmouth, on the subject of his next proceedings with the fleet."—S. P.

THE KING'S ORDER TO LORD DARTMOUTH.*

JAMES, R. Court, Whitehall, November 26, 1688.

OUR will and pleasure is, that you take the first opportunity of wind and weather, to send such one of our ships as you think fittest (with regard to prudence and faithfulness of her commander) to Plymouth, there to seize Captain George Churchill,† commander of our ship the Newcastle, and him to bring back in safe custody; you making provision for the command of our said ship, in the absence of Captain Churchill, and for the safe keeping of Captain Churchill himself when brought to you, until further order from us for his being otherwise disposed of or discharged.

By his Majesty's command,

S. PEPYS.

To the Lord Dartmouth, Admiral of our Fleet.

* "About sending a ship to seize Captain Churchill."—S. P.

† Burnet remarks, that George Prince of Denmark, who, as to the duties of his office, "understood very little, was always determined by others." These "were really lord high admiral, without being liable to the law for errors and miscarriages." On this passage, Lord Dartmouth says:—

"George Churchill, the Duke's brother, was set at the head of the Admiralty, in the name of Prince George, who had a commission of high admiral, only to screen the other: by which means the Duke commanded as absolutely at sea as at land, where the Prince had likewise the title of generalissimo, with as little authority."

PEPYS TO THE MAYOR AND CORPORATION OF HARWICH.

November 27, 1688.

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN,

You will not wonder, in the posture of the King's affairs, especially those in Sir Antony Deane's province and mine, that for some time you have received nothing from me of your proposition relating to the Custom House matter, and to what I proposed to you, or some gentlemen of your Corporation, concerning the King's yard. But I do not think fit longer to delay reviving both propositions, while in his power and mine, to promote the King's service and glory therein, under no great certainty how little time we may remain so.

For the latter, I have made such advance, by report so well grounded of its importance to the King, and a declaration of the King's entire satisfaction and pleasure for its being put in execution, that, soon as the days lengthen, and the weather becomes proper to work, you may depend on having that effected.

I have this day refreshed myself on the state in which the former stands, and find all the gentlemen commissioners concur in its being useful to the King, that the Custom House for navigation of your river be brought down to Har-

wich, the only impediment to its execution being tenderness to some certain old officer or officers at Ipswich: which, nevertheless, I had a promise some time ago of an expedient for doing right to him or them, and that the proposition should in little time be put in execution.

Now I have to propose, that if your minds still hold to have that matter prosecuted, you would let Sir Anthony Deane or me understand the same by one line or two, soon as you can, that you may have the benefit and fruit of your former favours to us by our soliciting the settlement and despatch of the same while we have opportunity. Not but that I still firmly hope, (cloudy as things at this day look,) that God Almighty has it in his gracious purpose to support the King and his government, and thoroughly to protect the Church of England both in its discipline and doctrine. But that hope not being entirely void of apprehensions that things may possibly end otherwise, I would be very glad, and so would Sir Anthony Deane, to do something while we may, to the advantage of a place and society from which we have received so many obligations. I am,

Gentlemen,

Your most humble and obliged servant,

S. Pepys.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO PEPYS.

SIR, Resolution, Spithead, November 28, 1688.

THE intelligence and order accompanying yours of the 26th, received by express at ten, Tuesday night, being such as require privacy and my very particular regret, is the reason I give you this answer apart from my general letter concerning the fleet.

I am much surprised at the Princess of Denmark's withdrawing herself, with the manner of it, and the malicious insinuations, you inform me, of ill-disposed people, as if she had been forced away by papists, all which, I fear, are heavy burdens, and great occasions of trouble and disquiet to our master,* whom God preserve and direct

* "The Princess," says Bishop Burnet, "was so struck with the apprehensions of the King's displeasure, that she said to Lady Churchill, she could not bear the thoughts of it; and would leap out at window rather than venture on it. The Bishop of London [Compton] was then lodged very secretly in Suffolk-street; so Lady Churchill went, and concerted with him the method of the Princess's withdrawing from the court. About midnight, she went down a back-stairs from her closet, attended only by Lady Churchill, in such haste, that they carried nothing with them. They were waited for by the Bishop, who carried them to the Earl of Dorset's, whose lady furnished them with everything. So they went northward as far as Northampton. A small army was formed about her, who chose to be commanded by the Bishop of London, of which he too easily accepted."

Bishop Compton was not ill-prepared for assuming, on such

to such counsels and resolutions as may remove, or at least alleviate these dismal and most dreadful anguishes of spirit, which I know he must labour under in the present unfortunate conjuncture of his affairs, to which I pray God grant so happy an issue as may put his Majesty in safety, his great mind at ease, and the whole nation and

an emergency, the character of *church-militant*. On the Restoration he had become "a cornet in the King's guard; but soon quitting that post, dedicated himself to the Church."

According to Lord Dartmouth, "The Princess pretended she was out of order, upon some expostulations between her and the Queen, therefore said she would not be disturbed, till she rang her bell. Next morning, when her servants had waited two hours longer than her usual time of rising, they were afraid something was the matter with her. Finding her Highness gone, they ran screaming to my father's lodgings, and told my mother the Princess was murdered by the priests." — *Burnet's Own Time.*

"So violent were the prejudices which at this time prevailed, that this unhappy father, who had been deserted by his favourite child, was believed, upon her disappearance, to have put her to death. And it was fortunate that the truth was timely discovered, otherwise the populace, even the King's guards themselves, might have been engaged, in revenge, to commence a massacre of the priests and Catholics."—*Hume.*

A most profuse, not to say fulsome panegyrist of Anne, as queen and princess, thus quotes "the letter she sent to her mother, (the Queen,) upon her husband's going over to the Prince of Orange." The Princess says: —

"Madam, — never was any one in such an unhappy condition, — so divided between duty and affection to a father and a husband; and therefore I know not what to do, but to follow one, to preserve the other." See *John Dunton's Characters of Eminent Persons.*

people out of that ferment and crisis of dissatisfaction to his government, which, from the too many nobles and great men ungratefully deserting him, appears to be so universal.*

I have deliberated, very thoughtfully, on his Majesty's order for seizing and securing Captain Churchill at Plymouth; sending a frigate on that errand being to run the danger of her being intercepted by the Dutch, who, by the last information, were cruising off the Start. If he be fallen into their company, it is impossible to retrieve him; and, if revolted, it may be reasonably concluded he has prepared his ship's company to make a desperate and resolute resistance; so that it will be a hard task for a single frigate to mas-

* "The King saw himself forsaken by those whom he had trusted and favoured most, even by his own children; and of the army, there was not one body entirely united and firm to him. A foolish ballad made at the time, treating papists, chiefly Irish, in a ridiculous manner, had a burden, said to be Irish words, '*lero, lero, lillibulero,*' that made an impression on the army that cannot be well imagined by those who saw it not. The whole army, and, at last, all people in city and country, were singing it perpetually. Perhaps never had so slight a thing so great an effect." Speaker Onslow conjectures that had James "shown any courage and spirit, his army would have fought the Prince of Orange."—*Burnet's Own Time.*

"They are not Irish words, but better than Scotch."—*Swift.*

"There was a particular expression in the song, which the King remembered he had made use of to the Earl of Dorset; from whence it was concluded that he was the author."—*Dartmouth.*

ter him, when probably, now, some of the men may not be so well-disposed to it as I could wish. I have therefore resolved to send only the Quaker, ketch, with orders to Captain Churchill to use his utmost diligence to join me. If he be found at Plymouth out of command, and be honest, (which is to be doubted,) he will, on receipt of this order, take the first opportunity of coming; but if he be under command, the commander of the said ketch shall carry my request to my Lord Bath,* with a copy of his Majesty's order for seizing him, and sending away the ship, if he apprehend she may be trusted with the company and officers she has; if not, to continue there till further measures and resolutions shall be taken about her. In the mean time, it may not be amiss if his Majesty think fit, and it be safe to venture it by land, that my Lord Bath have the same directions sent him that way.

* On whom, however, the King could have little dependence, though this practised courtier appears to have maintained a prudent reserve before he ventured to transfer his allegiance. See *infra*, p. 189.

"The Earl of Bath," says Burnet, "who was governor of Portsmouth, had sent by Russell a promise to the Prince of Orange to come and join him: yet it was not likely that he would be so forward as to receive us at our first coming. The delays he made afterwards, pretending that he was managing the garrison, whereas he was indeed staying till he saw how the matter was likely to be decided, showed us how fatal it had proved, if we had been forced to sail on to Plymouth."—*Burnet's Own Time.*

I shall order such vessel as I send, if he meet the Dutch fleet, and cannot avoid their examination, to make away with his despatches, (unless he can secure them,) and proceed to Plymouth, giving my Lord Bath a verbal account of the errand he comes to him on, and return with what despatch he can, that I may be thoroughly informed in this matter; a good success and issue whereto, and all other his Majesty's affairs, are and shall be not only the prayers, but the most earnest desires of, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

DARTMOUTH.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO PEPYS.*

SIR, Resolution, Spithead, December 30, 1688.

THE preceding letter was intended to be sent by express yesterday morning, at which time Lord Dover† came aboard me. Having understood from the Commissioners of the Navy and the Officers of the Victualling, that his lordship had not only detained the money newly come

* "On the same sheet as the preceding letter."—MS.

† Lord Dartmouth mentions "Harry Jermin, nephew to the Earl of St. Albans, who left him his heir, and who was after created Lord Dover by King James. At the Revolution, he was more favoured by King William than any Roman Catholic that had been in King William's service."—*Burnet's Own Time.*

for paying the Yard, but countermanded sending any provisions to the fleet, which must occasion great disorder in the Dock especially, all the workmen and labourers giving over their work.

From which I was led to withhold my express, till I could give his Majesty, by you, a good account of an issue being put thereto by my intercession and reasonings with Lord Dover, whom I persuaded to suffer all things to go on for his Majesty's service as before-directed, as well in relation to money as provisions.

Last night I received gladly, by your express, the news of his Majesty's gracious declaration of calling a free Parliament, to be held at Westminster, January 15th next.* From which great

* The writs issued November 28. "He called," says Hume, "a council of all the peers and prelates in London, and followed their advice in issuing writs for a new Parliament, and in sending Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, to treat with the Prince of Orange. These were the last acts of royal authority."

During this "decline and fall" of his royal fortunes, James incurred the following bitter reproofs: —

Mr. Hewling Luson, relating the sufferings of his relations the Hewlings, under the cruelty of Jeffreys, sanctioned by the King, relates this story of Kiffin, their grandfather, an opulent London merchant, and an eminent Baptist Dissenter.

"The King sent for Kiffin to court, talked of his favour to the Dissenters in the court style of the season, and concluded with telling Kiffin he had put him down as an alderman in his new charter. 'Sire,' replied Kiffin, 'I am a very old man, and am incapable of doing any service in such an affair to your

meeting, pray God send such event as may establish his Majesty with honour and safety in the rule of his dominions, and with lasting glory and peace. This news I shall communicate to the fleet, which, I am well assured, will receive it cheerfully.

The faces of the commanders are much changed since our coming in here, from the daily alterations in his Majesty's affairs; but I doubt not to keep them all in good disposition to serve his Majesty like loyal subjects and men of honour, which has been, and ever shall be, my continual endeavours.

The surprising news you give me of my Lord

Majesty or the City: besides, Sir,' (fixing his eyes on the King, while the tears ran down his cheek,) 'the death of my grandsons gave a wound to my heart, which is still bleeding, and never will close but in the grave!'

"The King was deeply struck by the manner, the freedom, and the spirit of this unexpected rebuke. A total silence ensued, while the galled countenance of James seemed to shrink from the horrid remembrance."

A stroke equally deserved and unexpected James received when, amidst the silent company at the extraordinary council, he thus applied to the Earl of Bedford: —

"'My lord, you are a good man, and have great influence. You can do much for me at this time.' The Earl replied,— 'I am an old man, and can do but little:' adding, with a sigh, 'I had once a son, who could now have been very serviceable to your Majesty:' words, says Echard, which struck the King half dead with silence and confusion." See Noble's "Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell." See also Orme's Autobiography of Kiffin.

Bath's seizing Plymouth for the Prince of Orange,* makes me judge it now unnecessary to send the Quaker ketch, as I designed, and I do not think it safe to send a single frigate; therefore shall leave that matter as it is, unless his Majesty signify his further pleasure to the contrary.

I am, Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

Secretary Pepys.† DARTMOUTH.

* On "the King's precipitated return from London," says Burnet, "the Earl of Bath had prevailed with the garrison of Plymouth: they declared for the Prince. So now all behind him was safe."

† In the Pepys' *Correspondence*, previously published, the only communication during October and November is the following from

"THE KING TO MR. PEPYS.

"November 30, 1688.

"Order the Isabella and Anne, yachts, to fall down to Erith to-morrow."

Then follows, on the same page, a letter previously published among the second Lord Dartmouth's notes to *Burnet*.

"THE KING TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

"Whitehall, December 10, 1688.

"Things having so bad an aspect, I could no longer defer securing the Queen and my son, which I hope I have done; and that to-morrow, by noon, they will be out of reach of my enemies. I am at ease now I have sent them away. I have not heard this day, as I expected, from my Commissioners with the Prince of Orange, who, I believe, will hardly be prevailed with to stop his march; so that I am in no good condition, nay, in as bad a one as is possible. I am sending the Duke of Berwick down to Portsmouth, by whom you will know my resolution concerning the fleet under your command, and

MR. GWYN* TO PEPYS.

SIR, Guildhall, London, December 11, 1688.

THE Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled at Guildhall,† have commanded me to desire you to attend them‡ there immediately. I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant, FRANCIS GWYNN.

To Samuel Pepys, Esq. at the Admiralty Office, York Buildings.

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what resolutions I have taken; till when, I would not have you stir from the place where you are, for several reasons."

"The Queen crossed the Thames to Lambeth, where she took a coach to Gravesend. Here she embarked, sailed down the river, and landed at Calais."

"The King," says Burnet, "stayed long enough to get the Prince's answer. When he had read it, he said he did not expect so good terms. He ordered the Lord Chancellor to come to him next morning. But he had called secretly for the great seal. The next morning, (December 10,) about three in the morning he went away in disguise with Sir Edward Hales, whose servant he seemed to be. They passed the river, and flung the great seal into it, which, some months after, was found by a fisherman near Fox-Hall. The King went down to a miserable fisher-boat that Hales had provided for carrying them over to France.

* Probably the person designed in the following passage:— "1688, Dec. 22, Saturday. In the morning the peers met in the House of Lords, Mr. Gwyne officiated as clerk." See "Diary of Earl of Clarendon."

† "They gave," says Burnet, "a strict charge for keeping the peace, and agreed to send an invitation to the Prince, desiring him to take the government of the nation till a Parliament should meet."

‡ In his official capacity, no doubt, as Secretary of the Admiralty.

LORD DARTMOUTH* TO PEPYS.

SIR, Resolution, Spithead, December 14, 1688.

SINCE my last, yours of the 10th is come to my hands, with his Majesty's orders of the same date, forbiding all further pressing for his service; and of the 11th, with an order subscribed by several Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled at Guildhall, requiring that all acts of hostility between his Majesty's fleet and the Prince of Orange should cease; and that all popish officers be removed from his Majesty's fleet, to prevent the effusion of blood, and any inconve-

* Who, at this most critical period of English history, was suffering under peculiar embarrassments. The reader may profitably consult and compare the following short but very interesting correspondence: —

"1688. November 29. The Prince of Orange to the Earl of Dartmouth."

"December 12. Resolution at Spithead. The Earl of Dartmouth to the Prince of Orange. In answer to his invitation to join the fleet under his command to that of the Prince."

"1688. December 15. The Earl of Dartmouth to the Earl of Rochester," with the following P. S.

"I enclose a copy of a letter from the Prince of Orange to me, and my answer, by which your lordship will be the more enlightened in advising me what is fittest to be done for the King and my country's service; and just as I am ending this, I hear his Majesty is coming back to you, which will still make me more and more beg your advice." See "Correspondence of Earl of Rochester,"

Evelyn had written — "December 13. The King flies to sea; puts in at Faversham for ballast; is rudely treated by the people; comes back to Whitehall."—*Diary.*

niences that may happen in the fleet. On which heads, and what else necessary to lay before you, in answer to their said letters, or in respect of the charge on my hands, I give you this further account.

I take notice that his Majesty well approves the fitting out the Warspite and Edgar, which will very soon be in condition to come out of harbour, and would, ere this, but for obstructions given by the garrison of Portsmouth, in many respects too many to enumerate. By the enclosed you will have some account of them.

I perceive, from yours of the 10th, that the necessity of his Majesty's affairs, and the season of the year, prevents fitting out the six fireships formerly ordered, and that there should be no further impressing, about which I have given orders.

Captain Poulson, after escaping from the stormy weather and other accidents, is personally returned to the fleet; but his ship was seized at Poole for the Prince of Orange, as you will see more at large by the enclosed copy of his informations.

I enclose you a copy of the fleet's victualling, from Mr. Steventon, commissioners' agent. You will see how near our provisions draw to an end; so that no more being expected here, I desire your best care that we be speedily supplied from the river. The concern of victualling this fleet,

among other great cares, is not the least. Relieve me, therefore, I pray, what you can.

I had thoughts of short allowance, but considering the season, and our being on our own coast, I do not think it advisable, especially since I have not money sufficient to satisfy the men. Mentioning money, I must put you in mind again of your promise, towards further supplying contingencies of the fleet. The apprehension of want of provisions induced me lately to order the taking out of an Irish vessel here a parcel of butter, with direction to the Commissioners of the victualling agent to receive the same, and give certificates accordingly, for satisfaction of the proprietors. Herewith I send you copies of my orders, desiring you will take care with the Commissioners, that justice be done.

Having advice that there was at Christ-church, in some vessels, by Mr. Shale's appointment, a parcel of bread and flour, formerly intended for the army, but now for the fleet, I directed the Cleveland yacht thither, and she is returned with the vessel that brought it, being about two hundred bags of bread, and forty of flour, neither, I am told, very good; but what is issuable shall be immediately expended in the fleet.

The vessel that brought the news from Jamaica of the Duke of Albemarle's death, left this place bound for London the 10th, and had my protection for the master (John Finch) and seven

men, that they might not be impeded in going up the river: so that service is answered.

The King's letter, accompanying yours of the 10th, bid me to expect direction for the fleet's motion, by the Duke of Berwick;* but yours of the 11th, bringing me another letter from his Majesty, acquainting me with his intentions of withdrawing, which he was then taking horse to do, gives me great grief and trouble of spirit, and anxious thoughts for the King, and our poor distracted kingdom, that it is almost insupportable.

However, summoning up my best resolutions to look forward, I could not think of anything more essential to the King's and my country's service, in the settlement of our laws and established religion, than making an application to the Prince of Orange, and purging the fleet from all Roman Catholic officers. Which, as I was intending, I received yours of the 11th instant,

* "James Fitz-James, born 1671. He was eldest son of James II. by Lady Arabella Churchill, sister to the Duke of Marlborough. The French made choice of him to command their armies in Germany.

"In 1734, having laid siege to Philipsburgh, his head was taken off by a cannon-ball, as he stood on the trenches to view the enemy's works. Some say, from a cannon on his own batteries.

"No general excelled him in the art of war, unless his uncle, Marlborough; and of both it was said they were never beaten."—*Chron. Hist.*

with the subscribed results and determinations made that day at Guildhall by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal; which suiting in all respects with what I had with good consideration deliberated on before, and the fleet unanimously concurred in, you may imagine I put them in execution with the more willingness.

Sir Robert Strickland's vacant flag of vice-admiral I have given Sir John Berry* a commission for, and made my Lord Berkeley rear-admiral. Yesterday they hoisted their flags. Herein I must observe, that Captain Davis being a very good man, that has served well and long in the navy, I could not deny him the commission for rear-admiral a day's date before my Lord Berkeley's, which he submitted to resign to him on my promise of recommending him to be a commissioner of the navy when any vacancy offers, which I do heartily, and hope it will be well approved. My next shall accompany a list of all commission and warrant-officers made since my last, and who succeed to the other papist

* In the Appendix to Pepys's *Memoirs*, is a page, "B. L. *orig.*" which thus commences:—

"1688. Dec. 16.—His H. the P. of Orange's order from Windsor to the Lord Dartmouth, about the disposing of the fleet.

"It being for the service of the nation, we do require you to leave under the command of Sir John Berry, Knight, the ships of war and fireships mentioned in the margin (15), at Spithead," &c.

officers in the fleet, all which I know of, are removed.

By the enclosed to the Lords, I have given them an account of my proceedings touching what you sent me from them, which, pray, let it be delivered. In order to the mustering of the fleet on the 10th of this month, I gave orders, at Mr. Shales's desire, that the Kitchen yacht should attend him till that service was performed; but I have yet from Mr. Shales no account of his progress therein, the short days and uncertain weather making that service go slowly on.

Before my Lord Dover went hence, I applied myself to him for giving speedy directions that the murderers of the boatswain of the Ossory, and one Burgess of the Ordinary, might be brought to condign punishment, the seamen of the fleet being much incensed at that barbarity from the soldiers of this garrison. I have since wrote to Sir Edward Scott, who has assured me the malefactors are put into the county gaol.

The landsmen on shore have been very outrageous and indiscreet, not even the lieutenant-governor, Sir Edward Scott himself, excused, as you will see by the enclosed copies of the depositions of the Mayor, and Mr. Tayleur, (the former being on board me some days for his safety,) and Sir Richard Beach his letter, in consequence of which I gave him order to be careful of the

Dock, and all the commanders of the ships in harbour to keep strictly on board, and obey his orders, and be very watchful that none of the threatening attempts against the King's store-houses, &c. should succeed.

The calamities threatening the Roman Catholic officers and soldiers still in garrison at Portsmouth, have much altered them from what they have been; and they seem very penitent for their former miscarriages, being not only willing, but, as I am informed, desirous quietly to submit themselves and lay down their arms, on promise of being carried out of the kingdom, as the government shall direct. In charity, as Christians, we ought to have some compassion for them, which I recommend to you to set forth, where it is most necessary, that some directions may be given concerning them.

I thank you for the intelligence you give me of the condition of his Majesty's affairs, though the state thereof gives me no little grief. Pray God, in his mercy, grant such a speedy and happy issue to all, as may return his Majesty* again to his kingdoms in peace and safety, and

* It was soon discovered that this anticipation had been too fondly indulged by those royalists (then daily decreasing) who still adhered to "the enormous faith of many made for one." Among the very miscellaneous MSS. connected with Pepys, I found the following evidence that not a few had profitably "watched the sign to hate."

"Extract of Dr. Burnet's letter, containing his remark on

settle our poor country in the full enjoyment of our religion and laws. I am, Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

DARTMOUTH.

LADY SUSSEX TO PEPYS.

SIR, Tuesday, (four o'clock,)* December 18, 1688.

MY brother Grafton† has spoken to the Prince of Orange for the Mary yacht, to carry me to

the behaviour of the fleet towards his Majesty in suffering the Prince of Orange to pass by without opposition.

" 'DR. BURNET (Torbay, Nov. 5-15, 1688) TO HIS WIFE.

" 'I make no doubt but in a very little while you shall have very good news from us: for all that we can plainly understand, and in particular by the behaviour of the fleet at sea, the King will be forsaken of all.

" 'We are now within twenty miles of Exeter, and so we have one hundred and fifty more to London.' "—MSS.

For a letter on the same subject "to a minister of the Elector of Brandenburgh," see *Appendix.*

* On which eventful day, Evelyn, in his Diary, thus writes: "Twelve o'clock. I saw the King take barge to Gravesend, a sad sight! The Prince fills Whitehall with Dutch guards. A council of peers, about an expedient to call a Parliament. All the world go to see the Prince at St. James's. There I saw him, very stately, serious, and reserved."

On the same day, (December 18,) an *anonymous* thus writes from London to Secretary Ellis, Dublin:—"Prince of Orange has the sole dominion here: one thousand men in the Tower, and six thousand about his person at St. James's." See the *Ellis Correspondence.*

† "In 1682 made vice-admiral of England. He was born 1663, and killed September 28, 1690, leading the assault, as a volunteer, at the siege of Cork. He appears," adds Lord

Calais, and my goods and servants to Dieppe, and to set out to-morrow.

Wherefore, I only beg the favour of your despatch, and you will oblige your humble servant, FITZROY SUSSEX.*

PEPYS TO MR. RUSSELL.†

SIR, December 22, 1688.

I ACKNOWLEDGE, with many thanks, the favour of yours this morning; and do no less readily

Dover, "to have been a brave and successful naval officer; but his conduct through life was wild and unsettled." See *Ellis Correspondence.* Perhaps, as to the Duke's reputed wildness, *patrem sequitur*, though *haud passibus æquis.*

* "Charlotte Fitzroy, Countess of Sussex, daughter of Charles II. by Barbara, Countess of Castlemain, afterwards Duchess of Cleveland. She married Sir E. H. Lee, created Earl of Lichfield. He died in 1716. By his Countess, who died in 1718, he had twelve sons and six daughters."—*Granger.*

Lord Dartmouth, on Burnet, says: "The King had Lady Castlemain the first night he arrived in London. She was then with child of the late Countess of Sussex, whom the King adopted, though Lord Castlemain always looked upon her to be his, and left her his estate. But she was generally understood to belong to the old Earl of Chesterfield, whom she very much resembled."—*Burnet's Own Time.*

"December 18. The Prince arrived at St. James's, where he received the congratulations of the nobility and persons of quality."— *Chron. Hist.*

† "In reply to his letter, accompanying a copy of the Prince's orders to Lord Dartmouth, about transposing the fleet."—S. P.

Mr. Russell became admiral, and Lord Orford. "He was,"

subscribe to you for the form than the matter of the enclosed papers.

I shall endeavour to kiss your hand some time this day, if your indisposition, which I am sorry for, will permit it, in order to the discoursing some particulars against the fleet's coming in: remaining, with very great respect, your faithful and most humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

LORD DARTMOUTH* TO PEPYS.

SIR, Spithead, December 28, 1688.

I RECEIVED yours, and have answered them as fully as I could at present; but I beg leave to write you this with my own hand, to assure you the only reason I sent up Mr. Bowles, proceeded wholly from not hearing from you, and no disrespect or any design of mine; for I should be very ungrateful if I were capable of making any unkind return to you.

says Burnet, in the History of his Own Time, "a cousin-german to Lord Russell. He had been bred at sea, and was bedchamber-man to the King when Duke of York; but upon Lord Russell's death he retired from the Court. He was a man of much honour, and great courage."

Mr. Russell is mentioned in the "MS. Memoirs of Byng Lord Torrington" as much concerned in the transactions called "on this occasion, the intrigues of the fleet." See "Correspondence of Henry Earl of Clarendon."

* "Particular letter."—S. P.

I doubt not but utility will help us both, though in this miserable distraction, and the grief I am in for my master, with being at such distance from affairs, and kept so much in the dark by my friends. They all write that they think I have better accounts from other hands, and in the mean time I am the most in the dark of anybody.

Pray, deny me not your private and friendly advice, by which I shall be glad to govern myself; and I hope we may yet be helpful to one another. I am sure all things shall be done on my part as becomes

Your obliged and affectionate friend
and humble servant,

DARTMOUTH.*

To Samuel Pepys, Esq. Secretary of the Admiralty,
at the Admiralty Office in York Buildings.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO PEPYS.

SIR, December 29, 1688.

I AM very glad the Prince approves of my advice for sending ships to cruise off Guernsey, to secure that and the neighbouring islands of

* For some account of a very various political correspondence during the eventful months which brought on the Revolution, and in which Lord Dartmouth was conspicuous, see *Appendix*.

this kingdom;* and, according to his Highness's order, have pitched upon those I think most proper; the names whereof you have in the enclosed list. To attend which ships, I have appointed the Kingfisher ketch, that if at any

* Among the very miscellaneous MSS. which Pepys had collected, and placed, no doubt, for his occcupation, among "life's futurities," I have found the following, which must have been written some years previous to 1688.

"Lord Dartmouth hath several times observed to me, with trouble, the prospect he hath of the condition of England as to the sea, in case of a war with France. They know too much to bring their fleet into our seas, but will plague our merchantmen with privateers to the West; nay, probably, make themselves masters of our islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and Scilly, and we shall have no work for a fleet to do anything upon them near home.

"At the same time, they will have a great fleet in the Straits, and be masters of the sea, and all our trade there; it being impossible to bear the charges of a fleet to be kept there, having no port of our own. Though the Spaniard help us, it will be at terms that the King will pay fifty per cent. extraordinary for all he hath to do in that sea; all being to be brought from England, or provided there.

"And then, who can we send thus far to command, that will be minded for supplies of stores or money? The Duke of York, for his own and friends' sake, must not come. The only one next is the Duke of Grafton. That would be lessening the Duke of York: besides, being a young man, what will become of the discipline of the Navy?

"He only proposes, that we might ruin them by forbidding their French wines: but that, he considers, will never be observed, with all our heat against France. We see that, rather than not drink their wine, we forget our interest against it, and play all the villanies and perjuries in the world to bring it in, because people will drink it if it be to be had at any rate."

time a greater force should approach the island than they are able to cope with, she may be immediately sent for assistance to Sir John Berry at Spithead.

As to what you mention, that his Highness has it in his thoughts to retrench the present charge of the navy, in my opinion it is a matter of that moment that ought to be thoroughly considered before it be put in execution; and there are at present no more ships out than, at this juncture, are absolutely necessary. Which, should the Prince discharge, and be put to it on a sudden again to man them, the pressed men, though never so good sailors, cannot be soon made so serviceable as these which are now, and have been some considerable time, together, in them. Nor can I think England will grudge to bear the charge of that which at all times has been, and must at this juncture be allowed to be, absolutely necessary for its defence. But I submit it to his Highness's better judgment.

MESSRS. HUGHES AND DUNLOPE TO PEPYS.*

SIR,

THOUGH many things in greatness dazzle and charm, yet there is but one for which it is truly

* In the MSS. is added, "No date or place." Nor have I been able to discover the names of the writers among any of Pepys's papers.

valuable, the opportunity of doing good. And since Providence, and the favour of a Prince, just to your services, have lifted you to so great a height, that as the welfare of the three kingdoms depends on the navy, so the welfare of that navy in a great measure depends on your care and wisdom.

It is your duty, and, God be praised! your design, to do all the good of which a station so eminent renders you capable. The Church of England is worthy of your best services, and, we are sorry to say, needs them. It has been too long navigant in a valley of tears, and has too much suffered the storms of that angry element over which you preside; especially her ministers serving at sea. Partly by misfortune, partly by their own faults, but chiefly by the iniquity of the times, they have not met with the kindest entertainment. They may now hope for better usage under your patronage, and endeavour to restore them to that esteem and authority absolutely necessary to those who are to do good by instruction, and minister to men's salvation. We cannot but applaud this your great and noble charity,*

* I am not aware to what exertions of Pepys, in his naval department, these writers may refer. It appears (*supra*, pp. 149-152.) that he partook of Lord Dartmouth's solicitude on the subject of naval chaplains; but I have found among the miscellaneous fragments of MSS. only the following:—

"OUR PRAYERS FOR THE SEA.

"Our bishops, being landsmen, have made no provision for

and humbly propose how you may best extend it to their advantage. Their sufferings have fallen under our notice, the high and noble pleasure of redressing them is reserved for you. Our observation has fully informed us, that the causes of the general disreputation and disesteem that chaplains of his Majesty's ships lie under, are usually some of these:—

1. Poverty. Few betake themselves to the sea out of choice, but necessity. They want a comfortable subsistence on land, and therefore seek their bread on the waters. What little money they have is generally spent in attendance, procuring their licence and warrant.* They set

a fair wind, or any wind at all; on a calm, or any other of the many evils incident to the sea; but only against storms and enemies: and thanks only for deliverance from those two."—S. P.

* Not always of the most prompt attainment. Thus, the Rev. Henry Teonge, whom I have had occasion to quote, found it. Having the appointment from his captain, he makes the following entry in his Diary:—"April 3, 1678. That same night, I went by water to the Bishop of London at Fulham, where I had little encouragement. April 4. Resolving to have no denial, seeing I had, as I thought, sufficient warrant for my place, I went again to Fulham, but the Bishop was gone to London. I followed him, and watched him so narrowly, that I found him going up the back-stairs to the House of Lords, and almost, whether he would or not, delivered into his hand a sharp letter from my captain. I asked him when I might wait on him again. He answered very curtly, 'To-morrow.' From that day I pursued my reasonable request to his lordship, following him from place to place till eleven. This morning I received my orders from

out, unfurnished with books and necessaries, and are forced on mean compliances from shifts sometimes, and base tricks. Hence they meet with neglects and contempts that always attend poverty; as nothing is harder than to procure esteem to a man's person when his fortunes are contemptible. They want comforts which some of the meanest in the ship enjoy. Hence they complain of the King's service as uneasy; whereas only their narrow circumstances make it so to them. This might be redressed by advancing part of their pay at setting out, as usual to ministers sent to the Plantations.

2. It must be confessed, and deplored, that the bad lives of some few chaplains have brought a disreputation on that employment. Formerly, captains chose them, who were not always care-

him; and then, having heard something more of me, he was very kind, and told me he was sorry I was not despatched sooner: and twelve, this morning, I received the King's warrant, now being *rectus in curia.*"

"The features of Teonge's character may be collected from the Diary," observes his editor, "without any disguise. He exhibits himself, not indeed as possessing any very constant sense of religious obligation; but, considering the laxity of the morals of the period in which he lived, and the society in which he moved, as affording a very respectable specimen of a sea-chaplain of this era. He enjoys his punch and his claret, and he revels in the most luxurious description of the good cheer by which he was occasionally surrounded; but he appears to have been constant in the observance of the offices of his calling, and exhibits a commendable jealousy of any interference with his professional duties."

ful in their choice; nay, perhaps not desirous of men of worth and virtue, and those very qualifications have recommended them to the place which did worst befit it. This has been well redressed by the Lord Bishop of London, who has generally sent out sober men, who brought credit to the Church of England and the service. The same care ought to be continued, for nothing is harder than to retrieve a sinking fame.

A third reason of disesteem, is the small pay, equal but to a common seaman's. Hence the seamen, which, either from their way of living, or being bred up in factious towns, have no great fondness for clergymen, are apt to think them no better than themselves, because their pay is not greater. Hereby, the chaplain loses his authority, the best advantage for doing good. The whole allowance of a chaplain in great ships is considerable enough; but in fifth and sixth rates, decreasing with the number of men, it is too scanty.

Other things, in a less degree, contribute to their disesteem, viz. that the chaplain is scarcely reckoned an officer, never consulted or advised with for his Majesty's service, nor his hand required to the ship's books and accounts. Nay, he has no power even in his own office, not daring to order the bell to ring to prayers but with leave first had from the captain. Besides, the

hours for prayer are not fixed and stated; but, being left to commanders' pleasure, are oftentimes omitted, as his particular business, indisposition, or indevotion incline. Hence great neglects, and sometimes total omission of Divine service, which makes the chaplain disregarded, looked on as useless, and, as the seamen sometimes tell him to his face, having their money for nothing.

The disease being known, a man of your sagacity cannot be long seeking remedies, it being most certain that the contrary of those properties which lessen reputation will retrieve it. What we have to suggest to your better judgment is, in short,—

1. That the commander have it in his instructions to favour and protect the chaplain; carefully to preserve his authority; to encourage and excite him to the performance of his duty.

2. That swearing, atheistical discourse, irreligion, and immorality be severely animadverted on; for whoever has any sense of religion cannot want a due respect for its minister.

3. That great care be had to choose men of parts and sobriety. The man will dignify the office, and the personal respect paid to his worth reflect credit on the employment. And, (though it is pity poverty should disable any worthy man from serving the King,) it were to be wished none might be sent, but a Fellow of a College, or

those who have some estate, or friends considerable enough to support them otherwise.

4. That chaplains be esteemed and reckoned next in honour to those who carry the King's commission; and it were not amiss if they, too, had it.

5. That the hours for Morning and Evening Prayer be fixed and stated, the bell ordered to ring as exactly at those times as at the setting of the watch; and that the captain, except in cases of extraordinary business or danger, intermeddle not so as to hinder the service.

6. That the chaplain keep a register of all burials.

7. That the King allow a great Bible, surplice, and several books of Common Prayer, to each ship; with which the chaplain may be charged, and ordered to re-deliver them at the ship's being paid off.

8. That the steerage be appointed for the place of Divine service, and be always kept clear of goods, passengers, trunks, &c. for that use.

9. That if there be no advance upon the chaplain's pay, his Majesty would allow for his eating at the captain's table, as volunteers who have the King's letter. By this means he will be thought more considerable, as particularly taken care for by his Majesty, and be less overawed by, or depending on, his captain.

10. That after several (viz. five) years' service at sea, the chaplain, having a general fair character and his captain's testimonial, may be recommended to the Lord Chancellor for one of his Majesty's livings, and, *cæteris paribus*, stand fairer than any who have not served his Majesty. Good encouragement will procure worthy men, and they will force esteem.

This is what we have to offer, which we heartily second with our prayers, that it would please God, who has put these good purposes into your heart, to bring the same to good effect, to the glory of God, the service of the King and Church of England, the good of souls, and to building yourself lasting honours on the surest foundation, —works of piety and mercy.

We take leave to subscribe ourselves

Your most obliged humble servants,

THO. HUGHES.

CHS. DUNLOPE.

To the Honourable Samuel Pepys, Esq.
Secretary to the Admiralty.

PEPYS TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

MY LORD, Admiralty, January 2, 1688-9.

I THANK you with all my heart for your last of the 28th December, under your own hand; for, I must own, I thought your usage of me, in the particular you mention, somewhat unnatural,

especially at a juncture so little needing it from one's friends. But, my Lord, you have done yourself and me right in the trouble given yourself for my satisfaction. I assure you, nothing on 't shall longer stick with me; but, on the contrary, a desire of rendering your lordship all the faithful services that, during the little remainder of my abode here, I shall be able to pay you. I send you herewith the Prince's pleasure in supply of what I wrote you last night, both to Plymouth and the Downs. In the latter, I presume, this will find you, and that, in a few days more, I shall kiss your hand here.

It will be matter of great content to me, if I may be able by any means to be of use to your lordship, though I have given over even thinking on 't for myself.

I am, my Lord,

Your lordship's most affectionate and humble servant,

S. Pepys.

CAPTAIN RUSSELL TO PEPYS.

Sir, January 4, 1688-9.

His Highness has commanded me to let you know, it is his pleasure you forthwith send an order to the buoy of the Nore, to Lord Dartmouth, if there, or to the commander-in-chief, that all the fleet remain at the Nore till farther

orders, of which I will wait on you to-morrow and discourse farther. I am

Your humble servant,

C. RUSSELL.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO PEPYS.

SIR, Downs, January 7, 1688-9.

NOTWITHSTANDING my other letter to you, more at large, yet I think it my duty to send this under my own hand, with thanks for the continuance of your kindness in taking my last so rightly. It is no small part of friendship, in this age, to forgive the mistakes even of a friend, which mine really were, and no other. Whatever becomes of me or you, I will always own and covet your friendship. The enclosed letter to his Highness is for leave to wait on him from hence. If he approve, I would be glad to pay my personal attendance on him.

The ships are in safety here, and at present better than in the river, if the frost continue. The only thing I fear, in my absence, is the negligence of officers, and the running away of more seamen. I will take what care I can, to leave such orders as may prevent both, or can soon be down again if his Highness think it necessary.

Dear Sir, I am

Your most faithful humble servant,

DARTMOUTH.

PEPYS TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

MY LORD, January 8, 1688-9.

I REPAY your lordship my hearty thanks for your particular letter of yesterday, and am extremely sorry my general one to you, which this accompanies, answers not the contents of yours to me, and of the other, enclosed to the Prince.

The truth is, the sudden and extraordinary change of weather all this day did naturally administer to his Highness matter for the answer he was pleased to give. Which he gave with so much earnestness, yet with no disregard towards your lordship, that I thought it of more moment to you to forbear pressing it further, than to use more arguments where I had no inducements to think they would speed; contenting myself with giving you the very words wherein his answer was couched; which I have done, as near as I can, in my aforesaid general letter.

To which, with most true respect, referring your lordship, I remain,

My Lord,

Your lordship's obedient servant,

S. PEPYS.

To the Lord Dartmouth.

PEPYS TO THE NAVY-BOARD.

GENTLEMEN, York Buildings, April 27, 1689.

AT the request of Mr. Fletcher, carver to the Navy at Deptford and Woolwich, this serves to accompany a bill, lodged in my hands some time since, for work done for this Office by command of the late King.*

The shield, with the imperial crown, and anchor of Admiral, has been erected a year or two. The King's arms designed for the pediment, being not finished till a little before the late great Revolution, has been prevented being set up, and remains in Mr. Fletcher's hands, ready, as he tells me, to be placed wherever you direct.

I also, at his request, transmit his late Majesty's

" November 2nd, 1688.

* " Carved work done for the Office of the Admiralty, in York Buildings, by command of his Majesty, signified to me by the Honourable Samuel Pepys, Esq. Secretary for the affairs of the Admiralty of England, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
" For a shield for the front of the Office towards the Thames, containing the anchor of Lord High Admiral of England, with the imperial crown, and ciphers, being eight feet deep and six broad, I having found the timber, &c. -	30	0	0
" For the King's arms at large, with ornaments for the pediment, being, in the whole, fifteen feet long and nine high, I finding timber, &c.	73	15	0
	103	15	0 "

warrant* for Mr. Fletcher's satisfaction, having lain long in my hands for his calling for. I remain,

Gentlemen,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

MRS. FRANCES SKINNER TO PEPYS.

MOST HONOURED SIR, June 10, 1689.

I AM in the heaviest affliction I was ever in, since I was born, about this graceless son of mine, that he should abuse and slight so good a master as you have been to him. I did look upon him to be the greatest staff and comfort of my old age; being brought up under so worthy, wise, and good a man as you are, and have been, to him.

* "JAMES, R.

"Our will and pleasure is, that you cause payment to be made by the Treasurer of our Navy to Mathias Fletcher, carver to our Navy at Deptford and Woolwich, for our arms, and the badge of our High Admiral's ship, by him cut for the use of our Office of the Admiralty, by the direction of the Secretary; and for colouring, gilding, and erecting the same; according to rates usually allowed by your Board for like work done for our service.

"Given at our Court at Whitehall this 3rd day of December, 1688. "By his Majesty's command,

"S. PEPYS."

"To the principal Officers and Commissioners of our Navy."

But let me earnestly entreat you, with bitter-weeping tears, for his father's sake, that is dead and gone, that had the greatest desire in the world, at his last, that he should be brought up with you.

Dear Sir, do not turn him going, if he be not gone; and if he be gone, on his humble submission, take him again under your protection. Oh! would to God you had broken all his bones limb from limb! I humbly thank you for what you have done for him already, and I pray for you.

Your very humble servant,

FRANCES SKINNER.

MR. J. A. HOUBLON TO PEPYS.

SIR, Tuesday, three o'clock afternoon. July 9, 1689.

DINE with you to-morrow I cannot; but at seven in the evening, when we may despise the sun, I'll wait on you and spend it with you, either by water on the Thames, or on foot at St. James's, or in the coach at Hyde Park. If neither of these appointments please, I'll attend any other.

If I hear not from you by penny-post, I'll not fail you at your house at seven in the evening to-morrow, when you shall dispose of me as you please; as you always shall, and of all that I

Pa: A.170:58

have within me, or within my reach, because I am, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

J. A. HOUBLON.

MR. JAMES HOUBLON TO PEPYS.

SIR, Tuesday, July 9, 1689.

FORGIVE me this once, and I 'll never gossip more about the *domestique* matters of my best friends.

Mrs. Fane, who was with me last night, acknowledges your censure just enough; and confesses she is often very severe and loud with the servants, but protests solemnly that this was always either upon neglects or carelessness of their business, or of what concerned your profit or honour, and never for any matter of her own, or purely for contention sake.

I find her very uneasy under the sense of your displeasure, and also about the manner of leaving your service; and believe, if in it again, she would strive to please you in this only thing wanting in her, quietness.

Sir, I 'll say no more, fearing I have said too much; but, if you think it needful, I 'll wait on you this day at the hour you appoint.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

JA. HOUBLON.

Pepys. A 170:52

PEPYS TO MR. JAMES HOUBLON.

SIR, Wednesday, July 10, 1689.

AFTER many thanks for your last night's favour, I think it very reasonable to ease you, soon as I can, of the trouble you take in the matter between Mrs. Fane and me.

That I shall do thus: by saying again to you, (what I did at the very first,) that I do not believe a more knowing, faithful, or vigilant person, or a stricter keeper at home, or (which is to me a great addition) a person more useful in sickness as well as health, than Mrs. Fane is, can anywhere be found. As such, I esteem and love her with all my heart, and should ever desire to keep and cherish her acquaintance, friendship, and neighbourhood.

At the same time I must also tell you, that, with all these excellences, she hath a height of spirit, captiousness of humour, and bitterness and noise of tongue, that, of all womankind I have hitherto had to do withal, do render her conversation and comportment, as a servant, most insupportable. This I say to you, after three years and a-half's grievous experience, and the unsuccessful use of all ways I have been able to think of, either, on her side, to get it mended, or, on mine, to make it tolerable: this, too, without any complaining to the friends, who, I am sure, put us together with

equal intentions of kindness to both. Nor had you now heard it from me, no more than you did of our last parting, when Mrs. Skinner prevailed with me to receive her again.

This being the truth of the case, and having thus made you master of it, say to me in two words either what you would do, or have me do, and, without more ado, it shall be done; for I won't dispute your commands, though I do your questions; praying your excuse, and remaining,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

S. PEPYS.

I would, with all my heart, you had by you my aunt Masculin, to confer on this subject, or that she were not too far off to have her opinion asked.

MR. JAMES HOUBLON TO PEPYS.

SIR, Thursday morning, July 11, 1689.

YOUR discourse last night, and forcible arguments, convince me that Mrs. Fane's continuing your servant is to be no more contested. It would be the greatest tyranny, to use the kindness you have for me in the manner you give me leave to do.

As I protest solemnly that I never before heard of this ill quality in her, so I have had no other intentions in endeavouring to make peace between you than what may justly have contri-

Rawl A 170 : 56

buted to your satisfaction as well as hers, in her earnest application to me to be her advocate.

I have known her from her bib upwards; and her visible good qualities, and esteem for my wife and children, made me her friend. Having few that I can truly call so, when I can serve them I do it without reserve. This hath been the sole motive of my warmth in her behalf.

And now, satisfied I can do neither you nor her any good by continuing my mediation, I will, according to the liberty you gave me, let her know your mind, signified in your letter. Then, I am sure, she will rest satisfied with what she hath done in order to her re-establishment in the service. So shall I, with my good intentions to serve both, and with being assured you will be far from imputing to me officious meddling in your private affairs, in this or any other case. Which I conjure you to do, being averse to nothing so much as to this practice.

Preserve me entire in your friendship, and believe, I am, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

JA. HOUBLON.

Excuse hasty writing.

SIR J. WILLIAMSON TO PEPYS.

SIR, July 23, 1689.

ON recollection, I send you enclosed the first footsteps I find of *countersigning*,* and the occasion and ground of it, to attest that it was regularly obtained, and not by surprise, but the subscribers not at all answerable for the matter.

The application of this method to despatches of

* "Right trusty and right well-beloved cousins and counsellors, we greet you well. The tender care we have taken of the affairs of that kingdom, and the order into which our labour is to put all things which concern the public, or private men's interests, according as they are occasioned to have recourse unto us for our princely protection, requesting a more exact and settled course than hath been heretofore held in such public acts or letters as pass our signature, we have thought fit and expedient that all such public acts or letters we shall hereafter send to you shall be subscribed by one of our principal secretaries, as you may observe this to be. If any come from us to you otherwise, you are to account them surreptitiously gained, and hold their execution in suspense till, on due advertisement, you understand our further pleasure.

"This rule we require you exactly to observe for all such acts or letters you receive after the date of these presents, without infringing the authority of such as have passed our hands of a former date.

"By his Majesty's command."

N. B. — This subscription, as are likewise several amendments and interlineations in the body of the original draught, of which the above is a copy, is in Lord Dorchester's handwriting, being at that time secretary of state, and a most experienced, able minister.

J. WILLIAMSON.

the offices in England was not made till my Lord Bristol's time, and Secretary Nicholas at Oxford; at least, not established till then, and of that I may possibly in a day or two, if it import your service, recollect the particulars.

I remain, as you know, with esteem,

Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

J. WILLIAMSON.

MR. NATHANIEL HAWER TO PEPYS.

Christ's Hospital, August 2nd, 1689.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

I AM utterly ashamed to have failed, though it were perfectly involuntary, and beside my intent, in performance of so solemn a promise about your satisfaction in the disposal of your godson, Edwards. Thus it happened:

Sir, our Court seldom excuse my attendance. When I was a little busy at our last, holden the 24th past, Sir Matthew Andrews, out of his zeal, no doubt, to promote our boys, in all haste withdraws himself, and forms a quorum of a committee of schools, such as he procures to attend him, and actually determines Edwards and two more to their several masters.

Sir, I know you to be a gentleman of greater generosity than severely to censure an unwilling

fault; and doubt not you will the rather excuse me for that the master's certificate is so well attested, that I verily hope you will have satisfaction *à posteriori*.

Sir, I have so great esteem of kindness and good opinion, that I willingly undertook this scribble in my own justification. How far it will avail, must be humbly submited to your censure by, Sir,

Your most obliged and most humble servant,

NATH. HAWER.

MR. BALTHASAR ST. MICHEL TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR, August 6, 1689.

WHATSOEVER towards me your pleasure or displeasure, I shall never fail of my duty to you while I live, being, besides natural inclination, obliged to all the deeds of gratitude I can be capable of, which I will show to the hazard of life whenever your service call for the same.

In the mean while, having just received (after four months' absence and silence) the enclosed, to me infinitely welcome, and believing your ever generous goodness still such that it will be no less so to you, I have, thinking it my duty, made bold to give you the trouble of perusal, and remain,

Your honour's most faithful humble servant,

B. ST. MICHEL.

(Enclosure.)

SAMUEL ST. MICHEL TO BALTHASAR ST. MICHEL.

Hyleck Road, near Liverpool, August 2, 1689.

HONOURED SIR,

AFTER busking up and down the Irish coast, we arrived this morning at Hyleck, where we ride till the first opportunity of conveying over the army (reported 24,000) that lies here, for Ireland. I have thought it long till, in hope of our lying here about a week, I wrote, to get an answer I so much long for of your and my sister's health.

As to news, I can only tell you that Londonderry * still holds out bravely against the fear of

* The defence of Londonderry against the army of James, which the King had commanded in person, was distinguished by the courage and endurance of the Rev. Dr. George Walker, the governor. The favourable conclusion, under very affecting and extraordinary circumstances, is thus described by Leland, in his History of Ireland.

"The garrison continued their obstinate defence, and even made successful sallies, when too much weakened by hunger to pursue their advantages. Horses, dogs, and vermin, hides, tallow, and other nauseous substances, were purchased at extravagant prices, and eagerly devoured. Even such miserable resources began to fail, and no sustenance could be found for more than two days. Still the languid and ghastly crowds listened to the exhortations of Walker: still he assured them from the pulpit, that the Almighty would grant a deliverance. While their minds were yet warm with his harangue, delivered

their enemy, in great hope of our army coming over quickly to assist them; and that Major-General Kirke has been this great while over, and has landed his army in a small island called Inch, which they have fortified. Many Protestants come to them every day. They have had small combats with the enemy, and have always gotten much advantage.

I have no more to say, but to pray it may not this winter be our station to cruize in St. George's Channel, the worst place imaginable in cold tempestuous weather. We have had this year no summer to speak of, but wind and rain.

I remain your dutiful son,

SAMUEL ST. MICHEL.

Rawl. A 170: fol. 96

with all the eagerness of a man inspired, they discovered three ships in the lake, making way to the town.

"Kirke, who had abandoned them from the 13th June to 30th July, at length thought fit to make a hazardous attempt to relieve them. Two ships laden with provisions, and convoyed by the Dartmouth frigate, advanced in view both of the garrison and the besiegers. The enemy thundered furiously on the ships, which returned their fire with spirit. The foremost struck against the boom, and broke it, but rebounding with violence, ran aground. The enemy burst instantly into shouts of joy, and prepared to board. On the crowded walls stood the garrison, stupified by despair. The vessel fired, was extricated by the shock, and floated. She passed the boom, and her companions followed. The town was relieved July 31, 1689, and the enemy retired.

"Of 7500 men regimented in Derry, 4300 only remained to witness this deliverance, and of these more than 1000 were incapable of service. The wretched spectres had scarcely

SIR EDWARD BEASH TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR, August 1689.

THOUGH I have not the honour to be personally known to you, yet the name of Sir Edward Beash, and his unlucky circumstances, may have reached your ears. Howsoever, your general character of goodness and generosity is sufficient for any honest gentleman in distress to address you.

I am, Sir, turned out of employment, a great sufferer, and under straits unfit for one of my birth to mention. Therefore, I shall use no argu-

tasted food when they had the hardiness to march in quest of the enemy. These had retired in vexation to Strabane, having lost 8000 men by the sword and various disorders in a siege of one hundred and five days." See "View of the Irish Society."

Leland had previously described, "among the resolute and active northerns, George Walker, rector of a parish in the county of Tyrone. He raised a regiment and commanded it, flew from post to post, conferred with the leaders, and animated the people, more convinced of their danger when a man of his peaceable profession appeared in arms. And here," adds Leland, "one might dwell with astonishment on this desperate attempt of a garrison in a town meanly fortified and miserably supplied, and yet encumbered with 30,000 fugitives, who could give them no assistance, and assailed by 20,000 besiegers."

"No man in that century," says Noble, "gained more reputation than Walker. Resigning the command of his regiment, he embarked for England, where he was received as his merit deserved. He returned to Ireland with King William, and fell (July 1, 1690,) with Schomberg at the Boyne."

ments, because I believe no person of quality, in plentiful circumstances, but will willingly contribute and assist a gentleman, though a stranger, for we are not born only for ourselves.

Besides, I am related to, and a particular friend of Colonel William Legge,* whom you know. In which confidence, I earnestly request the bounty of a *piece* by the bearer, and I shall receive it as an extraordinary instance of your goodness to, Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

EDWARD BEASH.

NATH. HAWER TO PEPYS.

Christ's Hospital, September the 12th, 1689.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

I LATELY rendered you, in my own excuse, an account with what surprise and precipitancy several of our mathematical lads were disposed of, and by whom. Since which, at my return from Tunbridge Wells, I am informed that the only remaining three of this year were hurried out by the same hand, even before their examination at the Trinity House.

Sir, I and our House willingly acknowledge that the gentleman has been very useful in happily disposing a great number of that breed before they arrived at their present reputation; but

* Of the Bedchamber, in 1667.

we think it a little too much, thereby, as he seems, to claim a privilege of disposing them to whom and in what manner he pleases; and suspect he would disdain to be reduced to more modest bounds by me, or such little fellows. So that, as well for that, as other most useful advantages of our house, I am driven, Sir, humbly to beg the favour of your company and assistance, whose reputation and prudence will be the most probable means I can wish to bring us to good order.

Sir, the objection you have been pleased to make concerning the new charge is, somewhile since, removed. We are now discharged from the latter, and reduced only to the obligation of the first charge.

I hope we have no way willingly incurred your displeasure so as to be cast off from your wonted favour, whereof, if you please to give some assurance, by your appearance now and then, as it may consist with your leisure, it will be a very reviving cordial to, Honoured Sir,

Your most obliged and most humble servant,

NATH. HAWER.

Sir, if I had not unhappily met with a broken shin at the Wells, which obliges to some confinement, I would not have failed to attend you personally.

MR. EVELYN TO PEPYS.*

Deptford, October 4,† 1689.

I HAD been reading Aristotle's book, Περὶ τῆς μαντικῆς, &c. on divination by dreams, which follows his other treatises, *De Animâ*, *Memoriâ*, and *Reminescentiâ*. The very night after, methought Mr. Pepys and I were discoursing in his library, among other things, about the ceremonious part of conversation, and visits of form, between well-bred persons; and I distinctly remember that I told him (what was true and no dream) that the late Earl of St. Albans,‡ uncle to Henry Jermyn,§ took extraordinary care at Paris that

* Of whose friendship with the writer, Evelyn, in his Diary, has left the following notice:—

"1689. June 8. I sat for my picture to Mr. Kneller, for Mr. Pepys, (late Secretary to the Admiralty,) holding my *Sylva* in my right hand. It was on his long and earnest request, and is placed in his library. Kneller never painted in a more masterly manner."

† Entitled in the MS. copy, perhaps by Pepys, "Second Letter, in prosecution of his former of 26th August." The *first* letter has probably been lost. The only letter of this year (1689) from Evelyn, in Lord Braybrooke's collection, is one of a few lines, dated 10th May.

‡ Described by Granger as "the gay and gallant Henry Jermyn, who, at the Restoration, was created Earl of St. Albans, and, in 1671, appointed lord-chamberlain of the household. He is said to have died (1683) unmarried, but is supposed to have privately espoused Henrietta Maria."

§ "Mentioned in Grammont as the most celebrated *homme à bonnes fortunes* of the court of Charles II. In the succeeding

his young nephew should learn by heart all the forms of encounter and court address, such as the Latins would express by *verba honestatis*, and the French, who, if I mistake not, are masters to excess in these civilities, by *l'entre-gent;* as on occasions of giving or taking the wall, sitting down, entering in at or going out of the door, taking leave, *l'entretien de la ruelle*, and other encounters, *à la cavalière*, among the ladies, &c.; in all which, never was person more adroit than my late neighbour the Marquis de Ruvignè.* The Italians, indeed, and Spaniards, exceed us infinitely in this point of good-breeding. Nay, I observe generally, that our women of quality often put us to *O Lord, madam!* when we have nothing to fill up and reply.

But, *quorsum hæc?* (a little patience) I was never in my life subject to night-visions, till, of late, I seldom pass without some reverie; which verifies that of St. Peter, cited from the Prophet, "your old men shall dream dreams;" and so you

reign he became a politician and favourite of the King, for which he seems to have been less qualified. Jermyn was created Lord Dover in 1685, and died in 1708. On the disgrace of my lord chamberlain (Sheffield) in 1687, Lord Dover had acted as chamberlain in the King's progress. In November 1688, he had the government of Portsmouth."—*Ellis Correspondence.*

* Thus noticed this year by Evelyn: "1689. 2nd October. Came to visit us the Marquis de Ruvignè and one Monsieur de la Coque, a French refugee, who left great riches for his religion; a very learned, civil person."

will shortly give me over for a dotard, should I continue to interrupt you with my impertinences. I will only tell you that my wife, of a much sedater temper, yet often dreaming, has now and then diverted me with stories, that hung as orderly together as studied narratives. Some I had formerly made her write down for their prettiness, very seldom broken or inconsistent, such as mine commonly are, but such as the Peripatetic means when he says, *quieto sanguine fiunt pura somnia,* comparing those other extravagant and confused dreams to resemblances the circles of disturbed and agitated waters reflect, that blend and confound the species, and present centaurs and terrible spectres; whilst the calmer fountain gives the entire image (as it did of Narcissus in the fable) and entertains us with our waking thoughts. What could be more explicit than the above, of the cause of this variety of dreams, which he as well as Hippocrates, and others from them, attribute to the crasis and constitution of the body, and complexions cooperating with other perturbations affecting the fancy.

But, leaving these to the *Oneirocriticks,** I shall use them no further than to let you see how often you are in my best and serenest thoughts: *Amici de amicis certa sæpe somniant: ἐρωτικος ἐν ἐρωτι.* And if the subject of my wild phantasm (which

* Interpreters of dreams.

was a dialogue with you, about forms of speaking, on ceremonious occasions) naturally leading me to something I lately mentioned, where I spake of academies and refining our language, have not already quite worn out your patience: I would entertain you here with a copy of what I sent our chairman some years since, as an appendix to my former letter, and as you enjoined me.

"I conceive the reason both of additions to and corruptions of the English language, as of most other tongues, has proceeded from the same causes, namely, from victories, plantations and colonies, frontiers, staples of commerce, pedantry of schools, affectation of travellers, fancy style of court, vernility* and mincing of citizens, pulpits, the bar, politicians, remonstrations, theatres, shops, &c.

"The parts affected with it may be found to proceed from the accent, analogy, direct interpretation, tropes, phrases, and the like. I did therefore humbly propose, —

"1. That there might be compiled a grammar for the precepts, which (as it did the Romans when Crates transferred the art to that city, followed by Diomedes, Priscian, and others who understood it) might only insist on the rules, the sole means of rendering it a learned and a learnable tongue.

* "Servile carriage; the submissive fawning behaviour of a slave."—*Bailey.*

"2. That with this, a more certain orthography were introduced, as by leaving out superfluous letters, &c. such as *o* in weomen, people; *u* in honour; *a* in reproach; *ugh* in thought, and the like.

"3. That there were invented some new periods and accentuations, besides such as our grammarians and critics use, which might assist, inspirit, and modify the pronunciation of words and whole sentences, and stand as marks and warnings before them, how the voice and tone of the reader is to be governed; as in reciting plays, reading verses, &c. for regulating the key, and varying the tone of the voice and affection, not without some directions for the hand, and gesture of the body.

"4. To this might follow a lexicon, comprehending by themselves all pure and genuine English words. Then, derivatives with prime, certain, and natural significations. Then symbolical, so as no innovation be admitted or favoured, till there arise some necessity of a new edition, amplifying the old on mature consideration.

"5. That, in order to this, some were appointed to collect all technical words and terms, especially those of the more liberal employments, as the author of the *Essais des Merveilles de la Nature et des plus nobles artifices* has done for the French; Monsieur Felibien,* the mechanical;

* Andrew Felibien was born at Chartres, and died at Paris, 1695, aged seventy-six.

Mr. Moxon,* for some of the English; and Fr. Junius,† John Laët,‡ and others endeavoured for the Latin: but these must be gleaned from shops, not from books.

"6. That things difficult to be translated or expressed, and such as are, as it were, incommensurable one to another, *verbi gratia*, determinations of weights and measures, coins, honours, national habits, arms, dishes, drinks, municipal constitutions of courts, old and abrogated customs, &c. were better interpreted than, as yet, we find them, in dictionaries, glossaries, and noted in the lexicon.

"7. That a full catalogue of exotic words and

* Joseph Moxon, hydrographer to Charles II. composed and translated a variety of books relative to the sciences. Besides treatises of geography, astronomy, navigation, &c. he published, "Mechanic Exercises of the Doctrine of Handy-Works." Johnson quotes him as the best authority for the common terms of mechanic arts. He was born at Wakefield, 1627, and was living at the sign of the Atlas, Warwick Lane, 1692.

Moxon drew a map for a project set on foot for uniting the Thames and Severn by a channel of above forty miles, and a bill was, with this view, brought into the House of Commons.

† Francis Junius, born at Heidelberg, 1589, studied at Oxford, and was entertained for thirty years in Lord Arundel's family. He died 1677, aged 88, in the house of his nephew, Dr. Isaac Vossius, Canon of Windsor.

‡ John de Laët, an Indian director, distinguished by his knowledge in history and geography, was born at Antwerp, where he died, 1640, leaving behind him some very useful Latin works."

phrases, daily minted by our *Logodædali*,* were exhibited, and it were resolved on what should be sufficient to render them current *ut civitate donata;* since without some restraining that same *indomitam novandi verborum licentiam,* it must in time quite disguise the language.

" There are elegant words, chiefly introduced by physicians and philosophers, &c, worthy to be entertained: others, perhaps, fitter to be discarded, seeing there ought to be a law, as well as a liberty, in this particular. In this choice, some regard should be had to well-sounding and more harmonious words, and such as are numerous and apt to fall gracefully into their cadences and periods, and so recommend themselves, as it were, at the very first sight. Others, like false stones, will never shine or be set to any advantage in whatever light they are placed, but embase the rest.

" Here it may be noted, that such as continue long in universities greatly affect words and expressions nowhere in use besides, as may be observed, for Cambridge, in Cleveland's Poems: and there are some Oxford words, as I might instance in several used by others.

" 8. Previous inquiry should be made what

* " Logodædalus citatur ex *Cic. Orat.* xii. sed Græcis elementis. An affecter of newfangled words; a coiner of words." —*Ainsworth.*

particular dialects, idioms, and proverbs are in use in several parts and counties of England; for the words of the present age being properly the vernacular, or classic rather, special regard is to be had of them; and this consideration alone admits of vast improvements.

"9. It were haply not amiss that there were a collection of the most quaint and courtly expressions, by way of *florilegium*, distinct from provincialisms, &c. For we are exceedingly defective in our civil addresses, excuses, apologies, and forms, on sudden and unpremeditated, though daily encounters, in which the Frenchman, Italian, and Spaniard have a kind of natural grace and talent, which furnishes the conversation and renders it very agreeable. Here might come in *synonyma, homonymia*, &c.

"10. Since there is likewise a manifest rotation and circling of words and phrases, which go out and come in, like the mode and fashion, books would be consulted for the reduction of some of the old laid-aside words and expressions, had formerly *in deliciis*, for our language is in some places barren by reason of this depopulation, as I may call it, and therefore such wastes and deserts should be cultivated and enriched, either with the former, if significant, or some other. For example, we have hardly any words that so fully express the FRENCH *clinquant, naïveté, ennui, bizarre, concert, façonnier, chicaneries, consommé,*

emotion, deferes, effort, choc, tour, detaché. ITAL. *vaghezza, garbato, dvelto, cruppo,* &c. We should therefore, as the Romans did the Greek, make as many of these do homage as are likely to prove good citizens.

" 11. Something might well be translated out of Cicero, Demosthenes, the Greek and Latin poets, and even of the modern languages, that so some judgment might be made concerning the elegancy of the style and colours, and so a laudable and unaffected imitation of the best and choicest recommended. Nor should there be wanting *copia* of epithets, and variety of expressing the *same thing, several ways,* such as the *Poetiche Dictorie* of Tomaso Caraffa, for the help of poets, preachers, orators, &c.

" 12. Finally, there must be a stock of reputation gained by some public writings and compositions of the members of the Assembly, that so, as I intimated in my letter to you, others may not think it a grace to come under the test, and accept them for judges and approbators, &c. Were the design thus far advanced, I conceive a very small matter would despatch the Art of Rhetoric, which the French proposed as the next to be recommended to their academicians.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοῦτον ἕκατον τρὸπον."

So much for this, and, I fear, too much, now I see how I have blurred; but 'tis not worth the writing fairer.

I stayed, Sir, at Lambeth with his Grace till past four, being to return with the bishops, and go home, as I was engaged, that evening. I called at your house, but you were gone forth; they told me, in your coach, which made me conclude it was not to Lambeth, where I should have been sorry not to have waited on you.

I have now gotten me a pair of new horses, but they are very young, and hardly broken to the coach as yet. So soon as I may trust them, and that the weather be a little settled, I shall not fail of waiting on you at Mr. Charleton's * and those other virtuosos.

PEPYS TO SIR ANTHONY DEANE. [1689]

SIR,

I AM alive too, I thank God! and as serious, I fancy, as you can be, and not less alone.

Yet, I thank God, too! I have not within me one of those melancholy misgivings that you seem haunted with.

* Walter Charleton, M.D. "a man," according to Granger, "of great natural endowments, and one of the most universal scholars of his time." He was among the first members of the Royal Society in 1689, and chosen President of the College of Physicians. Soon after, the narrowness of his circumstances obliged him (no doubt, to secure his person from importunate creditors) to retire to Jersey. He died 1707, aged eighty-seven. Dr. Charleton published, 1674, "A Natural History of the Passions."

The worse the world uses me, the better, I think, I am bound to use myself. Nor shall any solicitousness after the felicities of the next world (which yet, I bless God! I am not without care for) ever stifle the satisfactions arising from a just confidence of receiving, some time or other, even here, the reparations due to such unaccountable usage as I have sustained in this.

Be therefore of my mind, if you can, and be cheerful. If not, enjoy yourself your own way, and in your devotions think of your friends, whom you have so outstripped, from their not being able so easily to fall out with themselves as you have done.

I kiss Mrs. Hunt's hands, with a thousand respects, and am her and

Your faithful humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

PETER SKINNER TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR, The Expedition, November 12, 1689.

SINCE my last, by the chirurgeon of our ship, there happened in this harbour yesterday morning such a dreadful accident, that I thought it not fit to let it pass your honour's knowledge.

Their Majesties' ship, St. David, being ordered to heel, her guns, ballast, &c. were carried over to her leeward side. By too much stress of her

weight she sunk in four or five minutes, drowning men, women, and children, to the number of fifty. Some, swimming for their lives, were taken up, and died presently after. Such a dismal sight has hardly ever been heard of, considering the weather was good, and the ship safely moored in harbour.

It is believed, if they weigh her, which they are about to do, she never will be fit again for service; and if they cannot bring it to pass, she must be blown up, or else will spoil this harbour.

I have no more to add at present, but that I remain, with all profound respect,

Honoured Sir,

Your Honour's most obedient servant,

P. SKINNER.

MR. CHARLES PEPYS TO PEPYS.

SIR, Chatham, December 9, 1689.

YOUR honour's former kindness, and this at present, doth so deeply engage me, that all that lieth in my power to speak or do, cannot be sufficient to express my thankfulness for the good help your honour hath been to me, for the care you have had for my good, and for your good advice and good cautions which I have always had, especially in your honour's letter of the 27th of November, which I will strictly observe.

I should, in my best apprehension, be very much to blame if I did not use the greatest care to please my supreme officers, the Commissioner Gregory, the Mayor, and the shipwright, Mr. Lee, for they are very kind to me. On this my last settlement, the Commissioner and the Master-shipwright profess their readiness to do me what kindness they can. Sir, I find it is the respect they have for your Honour.

My endeavouring to give all men content in my place, as well the King's officers of ships as those in the King's yard, is taken notice of by them, for I do not absent myself from my business not one hour in one week. I had not formerly that encouragement which now I have, for which I most humbly thank your Honour, and shall give God continual praise that so noble, so worthy and honourable a friend is preserved, and (as Joseph) to sustain the necessities of your near relations. Blessed be God, I scarce speak to any officer of the King's ships but ask me how your Honour doth, and say they are in hope your Honour will shortly come into power again.

Sir, Master Loton, the minister of Chatham parish church, who was very much concerned and sorry when he thought I should have lost my place, desires often to know how your Honour doth, and presents his service to you.

Sir, I end with my prayers to God to preserve you, as he doth those with whom he is well

pleased, and remain till death your Honour's servant and poor kinsman,

CHARLES PEPYS.

MR. HAWER TO PEPYS.

Christ's Hospital,* December 29, 1689.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

CONSIDERING your late great caution, I dare not (though, for good reason, I could heartily wish it) press the exercises of your mathematical boys, till New-Year's day be past, without your privity and consent. Concerning which, I intended to have waited on you, to know your pleasure; but being necessarily diverted, if I beg the favour to be informed by this paper messenger, I hope you will excuse, Sir,

Your most obliged and most humble servant,

NATH. HAWER.

* Thus described, as to its origin and objects, a few years before the date of this letter.

"In 1553, (Edw. VI.) after erecting Christ's Hospital out of the ruins of the Grey Friars, a great number of poor children was taken in, and a school appointed at the charge of the city. From whence, according to the report made at Easter, 1681, there were seventy-six put forth apprentices last year. Of these, ten, instructed in arithmetic and navigation, were placed with commanders, out of the mathematical school lately founded by Charles II. There are now remaining, under the care and charge of that Hospital five hundred and forty-seven children." See "Burton's Historical Remarks of London."

MR. KNELLER * TO PEPYS.

MOST WORTHY SIR, January 16, 1689-90.

I AM sorry I was mistaken in Cavalier.† God knows I thought to do him a kindness. He did solicit me to do your picture on any terms. Therefore, being he desired the doing on't, you will serve him right to pay him three guineas for the wax, cast off from the *Equori*, which, he tells me, you have, and give him the *Equori*, telling him, you are contented with that, and he has had his desire of the doing on't.

* Afterwards "knighted, created a baronet, and a knight of the Roman empire, received with the utmost honour in palaces, while Oxford University conferred on him the degree of LL.D. It is to be hoped," adds Noble, "that the *Doctor of Laws* was capable of understanding the elegant lines addressed to him, and prefixed to *Velleius Paterculus*, printed at Oxford in 1711."

On his decease in 1723, there was a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey, with an epitaph by Pope, who has borrowed the conceit of Bembo on Raphael, as if Sir Godfrey could be delighted in his grave with that flattery which he freely swallowed in his lifetime.

Noble remarks, that Kneller might have left paintings to vie with some of the best masters, but at the probable expense of indigence. He said of himself: "Painters of history make the dead live, and do not begin to live themselves till they are dead. I paint the living, and they make me live." Noble subjoins, — "most magnificently too, he might have added. He always valued money more than fame; and at length painted, so as to despise the works of his own hands."

† "Cavalier, I conclude, made wax casts from portraits. Perhaps Mr. Cockerell has Pepys."—*Lord Braybrooke.*

Sir, if you do this, you will infinitely oblige me, and make him civil. All Frenchmen require to be made it, being born under a slavish government. Sir, pray do so, and let me alone, for the rest, to manage him

The Duchess of Grafton * comes to sit for the Queen at two of the clock, which makes me so unhappy, not to see you. The message came just before I had yours, and was sending to excuse me, if I could add any satisfaction to your good company, which will be so well, with Mr. Evelyn, that nobody can be wanted where you two are.

Sir, I recommend myself in your further good

* A title she attained when only five years old, and under which she not a little interested the affection and solicitude of Mr. Evelyn. He says:

"1672. 1st August. I was at the marriage of Lord Arlington's only daughter (a sweet child, if ever there was any) to the Duke of Grafton, the Archbishop of Canterbury officiating, the King and all the grandees present. I had a favour given me by my lady, but took no great joy at the thing, for many reasons."

Again: "1679. 6th November. Was this evening at the remarriage of the Duchess of Grafton, now twelve years old. The ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Rochester, his Majesty being present; a sudden and unexpected thing, when everybody believed the first marriage would have come to nothing; but the measure being determined, I was privately invited to be present, by my lady, her mother. I confess, I could give her little joy, but she said the King would have it so, and there was no going back.

"This sweetest, hopefullest, most beautiful child, and most virtuous too, was sacrificed to a boy that had been rudely bred,

opinion, and believe you think me to be your infallible friend and most obedient servant,

G. KNELLER.

P. S. — Pray tell Mr. Cavalier that, being he has done your picture so like and well, you will leave it with him, to recommend him in showing it; and lose your time, to serve him, in [again] sitting for it, because Mr. Kneller, on his request, begged that favour of you: otherwise, you would never have designed it, for you have your picture several times already.

He told me that, for a cast in wax, he has had three guineas. If you think fit to keep it, do: if not, give him both, and thank him for his pains; and tell him, being I begged you to sit for him, so you did, else you would hardly have lost so much time.

without anything to encourage them but his Majesty's pleasure. I pray God the sweet child find it to her advantage. I stayed supper, where his Majesty sat between the Duchess of Cleveland, and the sweet Duchess the bride. My love to Lord Arlington's family and the sweet child made me behold all this with regret."

In the severe satire entitled "Advice to a Painter to draw my Lord A——ton, grand Minister of State," this "sweet child" is introduced by the poet as

"That pretty babe that makes his lordship glad."

See "Works of Villiers Duke of Buckingham."

The Duchess was probably engaged to sit for the Queen, that the painter, without occupying her Majesty, might complete his subordinate works of figure and drapery.

This man having received so much kindness in Germany, has spoiled him. Being a Frenchman, he should be kept low.

PEPYS TO SIR E. SEYMOUR, BART.*

SIR, February 8, 1689-90.

YOUR last favour, for which I pay you very many thanks, tempts me to a liberty you might otherwise have escaped the trouble of from me,

* Edward Seymour was Speaker of the Commons in 1672. In 1678, become Sir Edward, he was again chosen Speaker, but refused by the King, and Sergeant Gregory chosen in his room.

He died 1708, aged seventy-five. Sir Edward, adds Noble, was a man of a morose disposition, but of great good sense, invincible obstinacy, and unconquerable integrity; feared more than loved, and respected more than esteemed.

His somewhat eccentric contemporary, Dunton, whom I have already had occasion to quote, thus describes Sir Edward Seymour: —

"He is the standard of wit and loyalty; has considered exactly the beauties and true mystery of style; and when he speaks in the House of Commons, it is with so much reason and eloquence, he is listened to as an oracle. His sentences are short and clear, so that his audience is always well entertained with something out of the beaten road." Sir Edward's son was killed in a duel, 1699.

Henry Earl of Clarendon writes — "January 1, 1688-9. I visited Sir Edward Seymour. He said all honest men were startled at the manner of the King's being sent from Whitehall; that the countenance the Prince gave the Dissenters, gave too much cause of jealousy to the Church of England, the most considerable body of the nation, and, if not supported, we should run into a Commonwealth, and all would be ruined.

upon occasion of this new Parliament called to meet on the 20th of the next month.*

Harwich, the place for which I have used to serve,† being fallen wholly into new hands, Mons. Schomberg, their recorder,‡ and the Corporation modelled very differently from what it was when my interest was of some credit there, I am to seek where to find a present berth: and yet am at the same time in hopes that my being in this Parliament might not be wholly unuseful.

Sir, if you, who know me well, think me in the right in this, and can spare an interest anywhere by which I might compass an election, I should be most sensible of your favour, and employ it to your full satisfaction.

If, nevertheless, in this I happen to ask an improper thing of you, pray forgive it. If not, your commands will find me where I last had the honour of seeing you, and shall be most readily followed by

Your most obedient servant,

S. Pepys.

He said he would discourse freely to the Prince, and if he did not find him on the bottom of his Declaration, it would be impossible for honest men to serve him."

* "When Sir Edward Seymour sat for Exeter, as he did in six Parliaments, from 1698 to 1707; and as he had done in 1685 and 1688."

† In the Parliaments 1678 and 1685.

‡ Among the English titles conferred in 1689 on the Duke of Schomberg, were those of Earl of Brentford and Marquis of Harwich.

PEPYS TO SIR ROBERT HOLMES.*

Saturday Night, February 8, 1689-90.

SIR ROBERT HOLMES,

SOON as I saw the Proclamation,† I immediately endeavoured to wait on you, as I have done again this evening, but both without success, you having been abroad all day.

My errand you know. And, indeed, the considerations that lead me to be a little more than ordinarily solicitous to get a berth in this Parliament are such as, I believe, you will not disapprove when I shall open them to you, which I will endeavour to do to-morrow.

In the mean time, pray let me renew my motion, which you so kindly received the other day, for securing a room for me; for I see plainly on inquiry since you and I were together, that Harwich, where I used to serve, is now new-modelled,‡

* A naval officer frequently mentioned by Pepys.

Sir Robert Holmes, appears as M. P. for Winchester, 1661; Newport, Hants, 1678, 1685, and 1690; and for Yarmouth, Hants, 1688. He died 1690.

See what "the King [James] approves, on parliamentary elections, in 'Lord Sunderland to Sir Robert Holmes,' from Windsor, September 15, 1688, as transmitted to Mr. Pepys."—*Pepys's Correspondence.*

† Feb. 6. For dissolving the present Parliament and calling another to meet 20th March.

‡ In 1784, "thirty-one voters."

so that I am not to expect to get in there. Therefore, pray excuse my troubling you to-night, as not knowing what else to make of this post, on this occasion.

But, at the same time, pray do not understand that I would give any interruption to your care for our friend Mr. Auditor Done,* for I had rather want it myself. But I have good hopes you may secure a berth for him and for me too,† which shall always be acknowledged by

Your most humble servant,

S. Pepys.

PEPYS TO MR. HOARE.‡

Sir, Saturday Morning, February 15, 1689-90.

Your servant making it doubtful whether I shall find you at home to-day, because of your going out of town, I was loth to omit telling you

* Thomas Done sat for Newtown, Hants, during four Parliaments, 1685 to 1695.

He appears in the Journals, "*Veneris primo die,* Feb. 1688-9," on occasion of a "*nem. con.* vote of thanks from the House of Commons to the clergy who have preached and written against popery," &c. where it is "ordered that Mr. Leveson Gower and Mr. Auditor Done do attend the two archbishops with the said resolve."

† By the Register from 1690, it does not appear that Pepys ever returned to Parliament.

‡ "In favour of Mr. James Houblon's standing for a citizen for London in the approaching Parliament."—S. P.

It does not appear that this friend of Pepys was ever in

before you go, that I hope you are not yet so swallowed up in your resolutions about this Parliament election but that you may have room for Mr. James Houblon, one of my recommendation to you, if you dare rely upon the character I, after twenty years' intimate acquaintance, give of him; namely, that he is a most sober, industrious and honest man, and a real and (which renders him not the worse with me) temperate son of the Church of England.

Which having said, I leave it with you (and your friends by your favour) to make such use of as you shall see expedient, remaining

Your most humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

To Mr. Hoare.

Parliament, unless he has been incorrectly described, 1698, as Sir James Houblon, Knt. among the four members for the City of London.

PEPYS* TO DR. SLOANE.†

SIR, Thursday night, January 12, 1698-9.

I HAVE this day communicated to Mr. Hewer not only our late purpose of making our compliment of thanks, in the name of the Royal Society,‡ to the East-India Company§ to-morrow, but the public notice they have been mindful to take of the Company's generous present to us, in their last Transactions,‖ the tenor and style of which both he himself is greatly satisfied with, and believes the body of that Committee will be no less so upon their receiving it, fully approving of our having respited the delivery of our letter

* The subsequent letters may be expected agreeably to illustrate a few of Pepys's latter years. To describe the previous interval of nine years, from 1690, I must be indebted principally to Lord Braybrooke's Life of Pepys, 1829, and the accompanying correspondence. See *Appendix.*

† In "Monk, an historical study," the editor having mentioned the second Duke of Albemarle, who died in 1688, governor of Jamaica, says "His government was rendered remarkable by its having been that under which the island was visited by the celebrated naturalist Sir Hans Sloane, who went as his physician." While at Jamaica, (Feb. 1688,) Sloane witnessed the shock of an earthquake, described in the "Cabinet of Curiosities."

I have not found the name of Pepys's correspondent in his Diary or Correspondence. They probably had become acquainted on Sloane's return from the West-Indies.

‡ Of which Sloane was secretary, having been elected 1693. Pepys had become F.R.S. 1664, and president, 1684 and 1685.

§ Of whose Committee Mr. Hewer was a member.

‖ See Appendix.

containing our more private acknowledgment, till it could come accompanied with this our public one.

But he is fully of opinion, that since it has fallen out that our letter has, on that score, been so long suspended in its delivery, it would be much more graceful for us, as well as respectfully understood by them, that the date of it were now made to agree with the time of our delivering it, or wrote over again with a fresher date: the trouble of which, it not being long, cannot be thought great, though with respect to your business, it may be so to you. Therefore, for your ease, and you approving it, my nephew's hand is at your service, by transcribing it fair, to prepare it for your re-signing and sealing.

If, in order to our adjusting this, and pitching upon the time, we shall then be ready to deliver ourselves of it at the East-India House,* you will find leisure to take your commons here, with better company than my own, on Saturday, you will be most welcome to us all, and this matter finally closed. I am, dear Sir,

Your most humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

These
To the honoured Dr. Sloane,
at his house in Southampton Street, Bloomsbury.†

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* Either the old Company's in Leadenhall Street, or the new at Skinners' Hall.

† Thus noticed in "The Philosophical Transactions," 1706.

PEPYS TO DR. SLOANE.

SIR, Tuesday morning, March 14, 1698-9.

HAVING had intimation from Mr. Hunt of a Council of the Royal Society, intended on to-morrow, and my attendance desired thereat, which I am in no condition to give, as having never been out of doors since I was last with you there, about the East-India plants, I thought it fit for me to acquaint you herewith, that if there be anything wherein by my information or advice I may be able to supply the want of my appearance there, you may please to do me the favour, in your way thither, to stop and take the effects of it from me here, who am

Your most humble servant,

These S. PEPYS.

For the Honoured Dr. Sloane.

" The learned Dr. Sloane, at his house in Bloomsbury Square, has the most curious collection of shells, insects, and other rarities, of any single person. He has, particularly, part of a coffee-tree, with the berries and leaves thereon. It was brought over from Mocha, in Arabia, by Mr. Edward Clive of London, merchant, by whose assistance you have a description of the growth and management of coffee."

A female beaver, but half-grown, was kept in his garden for about three months. The animal, except the tail and hind feet, resembled an overgrown water-rat. Her food was bread and water. Of willow-boughs given her, she ate but little; but when loose in the garden, she gnawed the vines and the jessamines.

JOHN DRYDEN, ESQ. TO PEPYS.*

PADRON MIO, July 14, 1699.

I REMEMBER, last year, when I had the honour of dining with you, you were pleased to recommend to me the character of Chaucer's *Good Parson.*† Any desire of yours is a command to me, and accordingly I have put it into my English, with such additions and alterations as I thought fit.

Having translated as many fables from Ovid, and as many novels from Boccace, and tales from Chaucer, as will make an indifferent large volume in folio, I intend them for the press in Michaelmas term next.‡ In the mean time, my Parson§ desires the favour of being known to you,

* Whom he had probably met in the Royal Society, to which Dryden had been elected, 1662.

† See Dryden's Works, with his Life by Scott (1808). To Chaucer's other poems Pepys appears to have been attracted. Thus, in Percy's *Reliques*, there is "An original ballad by Chaucer, printed, for the first time, from an ancient MS. in the Pepysian library, that contains many other poems of its venerable author."

‡ When they appeared, as "Fables Antient and Modern, Translated into Verse, from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, and Chaucer," with a dedication to the Duke of Ormond.

§ "The character of a good parson, imitated from Chaucer, and enlarged."

and promises, if you find any fault in his character, he will reform it. Whenever you please, he shall wait on you, and, for the safer conveyance, I will carry him in my pocket, who am,

My *Padron's* most obedient servant,

JOHN DRYDEN.

For Samuel Pepys, Esq.
at his house in York Street, These.

PEPYS TO JOHN DRYDEN, ESQ.

SIR, Friday, July 14, 1699.

YOU truly have obliged me, and, possibly, in saying so, I am more in earnest than you can readily think, as verily hoping from this your copy of one *Good Parson,* to fancy some amends made me for the hourly offence I bear with from the sight of so many lewd originals.*

I shall, with great pleasure, attend you on this occasion whene'er you'll permit it; unless you would have the kindness to double it to me, by suffering my coach to wait on you (and whom you can gain me the same favour from) hither, to a cold chicken and a salad, any noon after

* In his Preface to the volume, Dryden says: "I have followed Chaucer in his character of a holy man, and have enlarged on that subject with some pleasure, reserving to myself the right, if I shall think fit hereafter, to describe another sort of priests, such as are more easily to be found than the Good Parson."

Sunday, as being just stepping into the air for two days.*

I am, most repectfully,
Your honoured and obedient servant,
SAMUEL PEPYS.†

* Probably at the house of Mr. Hewer, a grateful and justly distinguished *protegé*, eminently qualified to "rock the cradle of declining age." Thus, April 15, 1700, he refers his nephew Jackson to his "sickness and absence from town, for the air at Clapham:" described by Evelyn, after a visit, (September 23rd, 1700,) as "a very noble and wonderfully furnished house, especially with India and Chinese curiosities; offices and gardens well accommodated for pleasure and retirement."

Lord Braybrooke having mentioned this occasional, and at last, uninterrupted retirement, happily adds:

"Nor could a more eligible retreat have been selected, nor a kinder companion than that cherished individual, whose amiable qualities, and disinterested gratitude to his patron, under circumstances of no common difficulty, entitle him to the highest commendation which can be bestowed."

Here a *note* exposes "the far-different conduct of Burchett and Southerne, who had both been footboys in Mr. Pepys's service, and rising through his interest to high stations in the Admiralty, lived to forget their benefactor, and even to treat him with neglect and disrespect."

† Copied from Dryden's Life and Works, xviii. 156.

PEPYS TO DR. SLOANE.

SIR, Sunday, August 10, 1699.

I ENDEAVOURED a visit to you yesterday, and a visit of just respect. But it was not without another errand, and what St. Paul would call a greater than that, namely, of charity. The occasion of it will be told you from a neighbour of yours, my extraordinary friend Mrs. Harrison. I have made some way towards what we desire, as you will see by a paper that will be shown you. What makes me the more solicitous to you in it is, that to-morrow morning is likely to determine all we are to hope for in it; and the whole, I understand, depends upon the opinion that shall be given in the case by Dr. Pitt,* to whom I am entirely a stranger, but have him described to me for a very good man, and one therefore, that in so charitable a cause as this is, will not, I hope, be easily led to pronounce the case of an indigent wretch incurable, which is, to give her up to perish.

The Governors, you will see, are disposed already to favour my request, and I would not despair, but your interposing in it with Dr. Pitt

* Dr. Robert Pitt, Fellow and Censor of the College of Physicians, and F.R.S. He published, 1703, "The Crafts and Frauds of Physic Exposed," which, says Granger, "gave great offence to the apothecaries."

would make it successful, which would, besides its being otherwise a most worthy act, lay an extraordinary obligation upon,

Your most humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

The President, Sir William Prichard,* is not, I am told, in town; but should he be, and in Court, I have reason to believe, the use of my name to him, in such a case as this, would find respect from him.

These

For my honoured friend Dr. Sloane.

SAMUEL PEPYS,† ESQ. F.R.S. TO ——.‡

DEAR SIR, January 2, 1699-1700.

YOUR New-Year's gift is, of all I have ever been favoured with, the most acceptable; with this only abatement, that your knowledge is too extensive for me to pretend to the answering you in kind, and therefore must content myself with doing it in wishes, as I accordingly most faithfully do, that happiness of years may yet

* Sheriff, 1673; Lord Mayor, 1683.

† Described as "the great collector of literary curiosities and prints, and the liberal benefactor to Magdalene College, Cambridge."

‡ Direction lost.

rest long upon you and my excellent lady, and find no end in your illustrious family.

I thank you again and again for the letter you designed me for my yesterday's entertainment, and which I shall make a standing dish of, upon every gaudy day, for a great while; remaining, most truly,

Your obedient and most affectionate servant, S. PEPYS.

Mrs. Skinner prays for you just in the terms I do.

I want your refreshing me in the name of the author, (Mousson,* I think, or something like it,) of more than one volume in folio,† upon a subject I lately wished I knew where to read something upon.

PEPYS TO DR. SLOANE.

York Buildings, January 8, 1700-1.

I AM led, by some conversation I have just now had with our learned friend, the bearer, Mr. Munro, to repeat what I have heretofore said to you, in relation to the most learned and celebrated Monseigneur Bellesino, at Rome. His character is so universally known and honoured,

* Pepys refers probably to "Sir William Monson, or Munson," a distinguished admiral, who died, 1643, aged seventy-two.

† His Naval Tracts, printed, 1682, afterwards inserted in the third volume of Churchill's Voyages.

that I will not so much as suppose you a stranger to it. Only, I think it becoming me to give you so much of it, as it comes to me from a gentleman, a member of our own Society, to whom he has expressed his most regardful esteem of the same, and desire of the honour of his admission thereinto, in order to a correspondence. That gentleman, Mr. Jackson tells me, he believes, may be truly useful to the Society; adding, that, besides his known urbanity and respectfulness, as well as communicativeness to all strangers, he is observed to express himself to none more so than to the English.

On all which scores, I make it my motion and request to the Society, by your hand, (because, as you well know, utterly unable at this time* to do it personally, as I otherwise ought, and should have done,) that the said Seigneur Bellisino may be thought worthy and have the honour he desires, of being admitted into the number of the Fellows of the Royal Society.

With which, and the telling you that I shall not fail in my duty of attending the service thereof as soon as ever my health shall enable me to do it, I rest, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

These

For my honoured friend, Dr. Sloane.

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* From a renewed attack of the stone.

PEPYS TO MR. WANLEY.*

SIR, Monday morning, April 7, 1701.

I COULD, very justifiably, I think, chide you, that, having so great a treasure of questions as you have now shown me,† you should let such an opportunity slip as you have had, for obtaining answers to them, my nephew having lain idle in Spain the best part of three months, (expecting the King's coming thither,)‡ that might have been most happily employed on your errands, to his own infinite content as well as yours and mine, in a country where I experimentally know there is nothing for a scholar to hope to learn but what he carries notices along with him to inquire after, which, as to Spain, he went wholly unfurnished, as not having at his going any view of the tour for which the accident of the late King's death§ there, has administered to him an occasion.

* Who died, 1726, aged fifty-four. See *Appendix.*

† In "Humfrey Wanley to Mr. Jackson," begun "March 11," finished and "transmitted through Mr. Pepys, April 7, 1701." See *Ibid.*

‡ An expectation which had been realized a few weeks before the date of this letter. See "Mr. Jackson to Pepys, Feb. 24, 1701," in *Appendix.*

§ Charles II. of Spain died November 1, 1700, aged thirty-nine. His second testament, dated 2nd October, was made, according to Henault, *après en avoir consulté le Pape.* In that, he had declared Philip of France (Duke of Anjou) heir of the

And now I am morally sure 'tis too late to think of reaching him before his being come away, I having wrote him, for writing sake only, two posts since, without any dependence, or indeed expectation of its finding him. So that I shall think it the best I can do to keep your letter here for him, in hopes that, in the time he has had for it, he will, as in other places, have established such a correspondence with some men of letters, (which yet are very few there,) as may be able in time to gain some light, at least, in that excellent choice of inquiries you had provided for him. If, nevertheless, you would have me do otherwise, pray tell me so by another line or two, and I will certainly govern myself in it as may be to you most satisfactory, and besides should be glad when you have an hour's leisure, to say something more to you on the same subject; remaining

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

These
For Mr. Wanley.*

whole Spanish monarchy. Thus was introduced to Europe the warlike theme

"Of Anjou and the Spanish crown,
And leagues to pull usurpers down."

* At Mr. Pleahill's, Surgeons' Arms, Castle Yard, Holborn.

PEPYS TO MR. WANLEY.

SIR, Thursday, April 10, 1701.

I AM mightily obliged to you for your yesterday's conversation, as being wonderfully delightful to me and instructive, wishing that my nephew had been here, to have partaken with me on the subjects we were then upon; and I hope he will, ere long, be in the way of having his share at our next conference thereon.

I greatly thank you for what you have been also so kind as to lodge with me this morning, and which shall lie very safe and undisturbed till you can have another half day's leisure to visit me as then; and I hope it won't be long first, for I shall long to see them opened, and will sequester myself from all other business and company when you shall, by any way, tell me I may expect you.

I return you Dr. Wallis's and Dr. Aldrich's *

* Henry Aldrich, a learned Oxonian, very honourably distinguished by the promotion of Greek learning. His zeal against popery had been so conspicuous, that, "in 1689, when Massey, the popish Dean of Christ-Church, fled beyond sea, the deanery was conferred on him. In this station he zealously promoted learning, religion, and virtue, in the college where he presided." Thus, in imitation of his predecessor, Bishop Fell, he published, generally every year, some Greek classic as a gift to the students of his House.

He also possessed great skill in architecture, while his abilities as a musician (and thus peculiarly acceptable to Pepys)

subscription to your proposal,* which, truly, appears to me a most desirable one in very many respects.

You won't forget my request about Froissart;† and if you could prompt me to any means for my coming to more knowledge of the volume of ballads you mentioned yesterday, wherein was that of the battle of Agincourt, I should gladly look after it.‡

have caused him to be ranked among the greatest masters of the science. He composed many well-known services for the church, also twenty anthems. Yet he could occasionally unbend in two catches, "Hark! the merry Christ-Church Bells," and *a smoking catch*, for he was a great smoker.

"Dr. Aldrich died at Christ-Church, 1710," aged sixty-three.

* The intercourse between Pepys and Wanley first appears from Pepys's "Report, June 18, 1700," in connection with the "Professors and Heads of the University of Oxford, touching Mr. Wanley's proposition of a general survey of all the public libraries of Europe, with our opinions of his own singular fitness for being entrusted with its execution." Such is the proposal to which here, no doubt, Pepys has referred. See further in *Appendix*.

† "Histoire & Chronique de Jehan Froissart, contenant les guerres de France & d'Angleterre, & autres lieux, depuis l'an M.CCC.XXVI. jusqu'en M.CCCC. & continuée jusqu'en M.D.XIII. revue & corrigée sur divers exemplaires & suivant les bons auteurs, par Denys Sauvage." *Lyon, de Tournes*, 1559 and 1560; *in fol. two vols. De Boze* (1753). See *Appendix*.

‡ Among Percy's *Ancient Poems*, is one, "For the Victory at Agincourt." *Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria!* form the motto and the burden of the poem, preceded by the following paragraph.

"That our plain and martial ancestors could wield their swords much better than their pens, will appear from the following homely rhymes, drawn up by some poet-laureat of those

Pray, when you return me your father's book,* do me the favour to direct me therein to the place you intended to have referred me to, upon something we had then before us.

Lastly, expect, when I see you, to be asked whether in the mighty magazine you have of old writings you could find any one fragment to spare of elder date than that which I have, of the Etymologiæ of St. Isidore,† which you reckon about nine hundred years old. I should think it a great addition to my little collection to be able to close it with something that might bring it up to one thousand years, or near it.

With the repetition of my thanks to you on all these scores, I bid you good morrow, and am

Your truly affectionate and humble servant,

S. Pepys.

days, to celebrate the immortal victory gained at Agincourt, October 25, 1415. This song, or hymn, given merely as a curiosity, is printed from a MS. copy in the Pepys collection, accompanied with the musical notes."

Dr. Percy having mentioned the Pepysian library, adds: — "Its founder had made a large collection (near two thousand) of antient English ballads, pasted, in five volumes folio, besides garlands and other smaller miscellanies. This collection, begun by Selden, was continued to 1700."

* "Microcosmos, or the Wonders of the Little World of Man," of which there has been, I think, a very modern edition. The author, Henry Wanley, was of Trinity College, Oxford, 1768, and became Vicar of Trinity Church, Coventry.

† "Isidore of Pelusium, called also, Isidore of Damietta," (according to Dr. Adam Clarke,) "flourished in 431, and died in 440." See *Appendix.*

PEPYS TO MR. WANLEY.

SIR, Monday morning, April 14, 1701.

I THANK you (though I am almost ashamed to do it) for your patience with me at our last meeting: but I hope to make the next less troublesome to you.

Not knowing how far you may be bound for the speedy return of Froissart, I have sent it you, as having had all the use I wanted from it. Pray, give Mr. Rymer* my very humble services, as well as thanks for his favour in it, and tell him

* Of whom Godwin says, ("Lives of E. and J. Philips," p. 143.) "He attacked Shakspeare, and proposed to print 'Some Reflections on that *Paradise Lost* of Milton's, which some are pleased to call a poem.'"

So far as I have discovered, Milton escaped, while the memory of our dramatic bard has suffered whatever might be endured from an attack which, in the judgment of highly competent critics, proved, like old Priam's javelin, to be only "*telum imbelle et sine ictu.*" I refer to

"A Short View of Tragedy, its original excellency and corruption: with some reflections on Shakspeare and other practitioners for the Stage. By Mr. Rymer, servant to their Majesties, 1693."

But whatever censure this author may have merited from British poetry, especially the dramatic, to him British history has been very largely indebted for the following publication.

"Fœdera, Conventiones, Litteræ, et cujuscunque generis Acta publica, inter Reges Angliæ et alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, &c. ab anno 1101, ad nostra usque tempora habita aut tractata; in lucem missa de mandato Annæ Reginæ, accu-

I should much rather do it personally here, since I am not, you know, in a condition to visit him as I would at his own quarters. But pray remember to examine the MSS. when you are at Sir John Cotton's,* about the words PERS and VILLAINS; and know of Mr. Rymer the meaning

rante Thomâ Rymer, et post illum Roberto Sanderson." *Londini*, 1704, et *ann. seqq.*

"Thomas Rymer, born in the north of England, and educated at the grammar-school of North-Allerton, was a member of Gray's Inn, and Historiographer to King William. His Fœdera," adds Dr. Adam Clarke, "esteemed both at home and abroad, is equally interesting to the antiquarian and historian. Whoever wishes to write such a history of Great Britain as will bring honour to himself and do justice to his country, must go to the Fœdera for his materials."

Rymer died December 14, 1713. The next year was published his very liberally written treatise, in the epistolary form, "Of the Antiquity, Power, and Decay of Parliaments: being a general view of government and civil policy in Europe, with other historical and political observations, relating thereunto. By Thomas Rymer, Esq. late Historiographer Royal. 1714."

* On whose behalf an Act passed June 12, this year, for the better settling and preserving the library kept in the house at Westminster, called Cotton-House, in the name and family of the *Cottons*, for the benefit of the public.

Sir Robert Cotton, who died May 6, 1631, aged "sixty years three months and fifteen days," had founded this library, justly described as an expensive and indefatigable labour of upwards of forty years. It was very much augmented by his son, Sir Thomas, and by his grandson, abovementioned, who died in 1702, aged seventy-one.

In 1712, the Cottonian Library was removed to Essex-House; and in 1730, to a house purchased by the Crown in

of the marginal note, 5 PORTS, which I observe against the place in his book; whether he intends it for a different reading he has met with, or what?

I send you also with this the Isidore you presented me with, and which, since you will not be denied, I thankfully accept, and shall bestow good binding upon it. But that I may do it as it ought to be, there being no number to the pages, or other direction for the bookbinder, in the due placing of the leaves, when loose, (as they will all be when taken in pieces,) I shall pray you to help me in it, numbering them in their due order, in some corner, where the bookbinder may see them; observing where any leaf

Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, where, a fire happening Oct. 23, 1731, one hundred and eleven books were lost, burnt, or entirely defaced, and ninety-nine rendered imperfect. It was removed finally, in 1753, to the British Museum.

In 1703, Dr. Matthew Hutton, John Anstis, Garter King at Arms, and Mr. Humphrey Wanley, were engaged to prepare A Report to the Trustees for the Cottonian Library.

"Sir Robert Cotton, while collecting his literary treasures, being one day at his tailor's, discovered that the man held in his hand, ready to be cut up for measures, the original *Magna Charta*, with all its appendages of seals and signatures. He bought this singular curiosity for a trifle, and recovered in this manner what had long been given over for lost."

Mr. D'Israeli professes to have taken this anecdote from the *Colomesiana*.

Of such shameless outrages on learning by the reckless destruction of MSS. during the sixteenth century, I had here designed some account. This, I must reserve for the *Appendix*.

or more may be missing, to note the same, that I may put blank leaves in their room, to be hereafter filled by some perfect book, as I shall have opportunity for it. And, if you please, let my messenger know when he shall wait on you again for it; or else send it me yourself by your porter, when it is done.

'Tis too soon to bespeak another sight of you, before Easter day; but if you will be my guest then, you shall be welcome, and secured by the day against any drudgery for that time, however you may escape the next.

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

S. PEPYS.

These

For Mr. Wanley, at Mr. Pleahill's, &c.

PEPYS TO DR. SLOANE.

SIR, Clapham, October 14, 1701.

BESIDES what you have of thanks to claim of me for your late visit, I have a thousand more to pay you for your later favour of your sermon. I have made my full use of it, and to the pleasure of our whole fire-side, and, most of all, to the ladies, who want not sense enough to discern the reasonableness of its doctrines; wishing only that their husbands and the parsons would teach them the rest of their duties in the same style.

I here return it you, with the thanks and services of our whole congregation, as well as those of your most faithful and humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

Your patient is a-cock-horse every day, and, I hope, will have benefit by it.

PEPYS TO MR. WANLEY.

SIR, Clapham, Sunday, November 8, [1701.]

I DO entirely concur with you in the reason of your refraining from mentioning the matter of Daillé,* though I was at that time very sorry for it. But it was a subject unfit for mixed conversation, and shall therefore be glad to have it reserved for our being alone, which, if you like it, shall be the condition of our next meeting.

I observe what you say, touching your Cotton affair.†

I do thankfully accept of Dr. Gregory's ‡ assignation, and have told him so by two lines, which I choose to have conveyed to him by your hand, if it be not too much trouble to you; if other-

* John Daillé, an eminent French Protestant theologian, born at Chatelleraut 1594, and deceased at Paris 1670. See *infra*, "October 4, 1702."

† Perhaps his appointment as one of the Reporters on the Cottonian Library, named *supra*, p. 268. *note*.

‡ Professor of Astronomy, 1691.

wise, let my servant do it. The coach shall attend him, as you have appointed. Adieu!

These For Mr. Wanley.

PEPYS TO MR. WANLEY.

SIR, Clapham, May 17, 1702.

You are too acknowledging, indeed, for favours I know nothing of, more than my wishes that I could show you any.

Your painter I have seen, and like both him and his work so well, that I have kept the sample he brought me of it in expectation of his drawing another for me; for I must needs beg the favour of my honoured friend, Mr. Dean, of Worcester, to bear with the trouble of permitting him to draw it again from the original, it being a picture that truly charms me; and I know too well the difference between a copy at the first hand and at the second, though never so well performed.

In which, having some visitants now with me, I will be my own solicitor to him by the next, praying you, in the mean time, to be doing it for me; and bespeaking a visit from him, too, the weather being now so favourable for it, my coach always at his call; and a great deal of new matter for conversation, good and bad, arisen since he did me the last favour. And you may be sure of my having the two things which you remind me of, then ready for your view.

Which, with my very kind thanks for your Sunday's kindness, is all at present from

Your truly affectionate and humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

Your painter had his choice of my pictures, and is, I hope, now about it.

You oblige me with your mention to me of Durham and Dundas.

These, For my esteemed friend, Mr. Wanley.

PEPYS TO DR. SLOANE.

DEAR SIR, Clapham, June 24, 1702.

I NOW send you what is now yours, I having not been able sooner to make it so, by getting through the satisfaction you designed me in the loan of it.

Indeed, it is a noble work, worthy the great author, and its greater subject, and what I have many inducements to think the world would never have hoped for from any pen but his. But I won't anticipate the judgment you will best make of it yourself, and therefore, with many thanks for your last favour, and particularly for this part of it, I rest, with utmost respect,

Your most obedient servant,

S. PEPYS.

Remember our Roman bill of fare.

These, For the honoured Dr. Sloane.

PEPYS TO DR. SLOANE.

SIR, Tuesday morn.

I AM mightily afraid you may want your *Receuil Astronomique*, which I have long expected back from Sir Christopher Wren, and will now send to him for it, if he returns it not of himself in a few days. In the mean time, if you have any occasion for it, pray command mine.

I am

Your obliged and most humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

These,
For Dr. Sloane.

PEPYS TO DR. SLOANE.

DEAR SIR, Clapham, July 31, 1702.

I HAVE made the loan of the jewel you lent me a long one; too long, I fear, to be forgiven for it. But, indeed, I have pleasured so many of my friends with the sight of it, besides my own satisfaction in the frequent use of it compared with our common *goffer* * instruments, that, I protest, I have not known how to let it go from me sooner, and therefore must lie at your mercy wholly for it.

* Probably from "*geoff*, or *goffe*, (country word,) a mow or rick of corn or hay."—*World of Words*.

I have not yet thanked you neither, as I ought long since to have done, and now do, for the favour of your last visit; almost wishing myself sick that I might have a pretence to invite you for an hour or two to another by yourself; I having increased my collection of prints by a new volume or two, that would not be irksome to your curiosity to overlook.

My nephew is, as he ought to be, and I truly am,

Your most faithful, affectionate, and obedient servant,

S. PEPYS.

Your patient has been forced, with her lame leg, to submit to a sudden call into Lincolnshire from a dying mother, but without any notion yet, I thank God! of its being the worse for it.

These,
For my honoured friend, Dr. Sloane.

PEPYS TO DR. SLOANE.

DEAR SIR, Tuesday night.

IF this finds you at home, and likely to keep so this evening, I shall, with your leave, take the liberty of sending my nephew to you upon an errand wherein I shall need a little of your direction in my delivering it to the Royal Society;

and chiefly to know whether there be any Council summoned to meet there to-morrow in the morning, as well as a common meeting of the Society in the afternoon.

Should you not now be in the way, I have ordered the bearer to leave it at your house for you, in order to the bespeaking the liberty of this visit to you, either for myself or nephew, about nine to-morrow morning, remaining,

Your obedient servant,

S. PEPYS.

These
For Dr. Sloane, at his house in Southampton Street, next the Square.

PEPYS TO DR. SLOANE.

SIR, Tuesday night, past nine.

MY messenger is returned from Clapham with this answer; which, because I thought it might be of some satisfaction to you, I give you the trouble of perusing, and returning me under a seal. By this, you may depend upon having the matter answered timely and properly, and that you may to-morrow in the evening hear more particularly of it from

Your most humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

For Dr. Sloane, These.

PEPYS TO DR. SLOANE.*

SIR, Tuesday morning.

SENDING this morning to the Navy Office, to advertise Mr. Sargisson of the visit intended him

* "In 1716, created a baronet, an hereditary title to which, before, no English physician had ever arrived." — *Biog. Brit.* vi. 3702.

Sending to the press the last of the letters from Pepys to Sloane, it may not be irrelevant to add that, from a mutual attachment to natural science, he had early formed, and successfully cultivated, the acquaintance of Boyle and Ray. As a correspondent of the latter, his name frequently appears among "Philosophical Letters," published 1718. Thus, writing from London, January 29, 1686, Sloane says (p. 206):

"I have talked a long while of going to Jamaica with the Duke of Albemarle as his physician; which, if I do, next to serving his grace and family in my profession, my business is, to see what I can meet with extraordinary in Nature, in those places. I hope to be able to send you some observations from thence, God Almighty granting life and strength to do what I design." Ten days before Ray's death, the correspondence concluded in these affecting terms:—

Black-Notley, January 7, 1704.

"DEAR SIR, THE BEST OF FRIENDS,

"THESE are to take a final leave of you in this world. I look upon myself as a dying man. God requite your kindness, expressed any ways towards me, an hundred-fold: bless you with a confluence of all good things in this world, and eternal life and happiness hereafter. Grant us a happy meeting in Heaven. "I am, Sir, eternally yours,

"JOHN RAY."

Attempting a P. S. his strength failed, and he was obliged to break off abruptly."—*Biog. Brit.* vi. 3700.

Sloane had also a correspondence with one of the most emi-

in the afternoon. I found him gone into the country, and not to return till Thursday. But, I hope, that will be time enough to answer your occasion. If not, and that you will let me know it, I will provide otherwise against the disappointment; though, if you can stay so long, I do think it were, in several respects, the more eligible to wait his return.

In which I shall expect to hear from you, and am

Your most humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

These
For the honoured Dr. Sloane, at Montague House.*
With speed.

nent French philosophers. Thus, speaking of the "Mystere des Actes Apotrês," a very rare and uncommon work. Mr. Hone says, "Bayle obtained the loan of a copy from Sir Hans Sloane, and largely describes the volume."—See "*Antient Mysteries*," (1823) p. 176.

* Purchased by Parliament for 10,100*l.* On the former Montague House, (burnt 1686,) see *Evelyn;* Dobie's "History of Bloomsbury," (1829) p. 161, &c.

"The present house was built on the former site, and on the same French plan, by the same first Duke of Montague, ambassador to the Court of France." — *Ibid.* p. 163. See *Noble,* ii. 36-38. *Year Book,* 978.

Dr. Birch, to whose literary industry and munificent bequest the British Museum has been largely indebted, agreeably details the rise and early progress of that truly patriotic establishment, from 1609, when James I. purchased Lord Lumley's library, for "an opportunity of gratifying the Prince Henry's love of books, and making a noble addition to the royal library." Dr. Birch adds: —

PEPYS TO MR. WANLEY.

SIR, Clapham, Thursday, September 17, 1702.

I RECEIVED, yesterday, your advice of, and thoughts upon, the death of Sir John Cotton, which, on very many accounts, I most heartily am a friend to, and will turn every stone you shall think I may be serviceable to them by; and in particular, by my present application to Dr. Smith * in what you have directed me, and

" These libraries are now likely to become of general benefit to the learned, being given by his present Majesty (George II.) to the British Museum, opened for the public use while I am writing, (on Monday, 15th January, 1759,) and to which this book owes its rise and best materials, as the author does one of his most valued distinctions, (Librarian,) as well as the highest entertainment of his leisure hours." See " Life of Henry, Prince of Wales, by Thomas Birch, D. D." (1760) pp. 161-166.

Hentzner, a German traveller, edited by Lord Orford, found " the Royal Library, in 1598, well stored with *Greek, Latin, Italian,* and *French* books: a little one, in *French,* upon parchment, in the handwriting of Elizabeth, inscribed to Henry VIII." He adds: " All these books are bound in velvet of different colours, though chiefly red, with clasps of gold and silver. Some have pearls and precious stones set in their bindings." See Dodsley's " Fugitive Pieces," (1705) ii. 261.

* " Thomas Smith, S.T.P. a learned writer and divine," says Lord Braybrooke, " was born in London, 1638, and died there 1710. For a list of his numerous works, see Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica.* He had published a catalogue of the Cottonian MSS. and a life of Sir Robert Cotton, which explains Pepys's application in behalf of Wanley." —*Lord Braybrooke, Cor.* p. 272. *Note.*

" At the instance of our excellent friend Dr. Charlett, of

with the caution you mention, whose answers you shall, without delay, have communicated to you by

Your most faithful, affectionate, and humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

Oxford," (says Pepys, Apr. 15, 1695,) "I come to ask a favour. It is in behalf of this young man, (Humphrey Wanley,) the bearer: one whose outside would not lead you to expect such an errand from him; his education also bespeaking it as little, as having been bred at Coventry, in a trade not very apt to give any occasion for it. But so it is, that by a strange bent of nature he has spontaneously given himself up to the love of antiquities, and looking into records; Dr. Charlett telling me of several catalogues of MSS. now before them at Oxford, which they owe to his transcribing.

"After this, what can you think his present want to be, and the only errand that has brought him up to London, and this the first time of his being here, but a curiosity only to see the inside of Sir John Cotton's library, which pray let me, in Dr. Charlett's name and my own, beg you to indulge him an opportunity for, when it may be with least trouble to yourself. To reconcile this curiosity of his a little more to you, I have it to observe, that though it was his fortune to be disposed of to a trade, yet not, as I understand, without having been first raised to an academical degree of grammar learning."—*Correspondence*, pp. 143-4.

In a letter "to Pepys, April 16, 1702," Dr. Smith mentions his burial of "the excellently good Lady Cotton," and the death of his "learned friend, Dr. Gale." He there also censures "the Scotch Presbyterians," and denounces those who "are propagating scandalous, lying, villanous stories, and reflections upon the honour, virtue, and innocence of King James and his Queen, in order to make several Non-jurors believe that the Prince of Wales, (the abjuring of whom is with them the great difficulty,) is but a counterfeit and mere supposititious child." Dr. Smith

If the conditions of holding it be such as Dr. Smith can comply with, and he be otherwise desirous of it, his long possession of, and services to it, will give him undoubtedly a title incontestable. But he declining, I cannot think less of yours against any other.

These
For my worthy friend, Mr. Wanley.

adds, no doubt referring to the gossip tales of Burnet, which, to the discredit of his general character, he has ventured to call *history*.

"And this is done, especially by one of the episcopal order, who is outrageously, as after his demure way, to tell such as consult him, that, *upon his salvation*, he believes the whole transaction of that affair to be mere juggle and imposture. But when I shall acquaint you at large with the weakness and falseness of his pretended proofs and allegations, grounded on hearsay stories, and horribly perverted not only against the truth of fact, so notorious, and so well attested by persons of untainted and unquestionable honour and honesty, then present, but even almost against the very possibility of things, you will wonder how a man of his learning, great age, and gravity, can be so infatuated as, first to believe, and then, with such a semblance of piety and religion, labour to make others believe such wicked and diabolical calumnies."

Then, "to restore" Pepys to his "natural good humour," the Doctor "enclosed an epitaph upon the late high and mighty Dutch hero," (whom the fond Nonconformist poet, Watt, almost mistook for "Gabriel on the British throne,") and a "few heroic lines upon *Sorrell*," the Jacobite's favourite steed, to which they attributed the merit of having hastened to his end the grossly over-praised "hero, William." — *Correspondence*, p. 272-274.

PEPYS TO MR. WANLEY.

SIR, Clapham, Thursday, September 24, 1702.

I WROTE to Dr. Smith, of the same date, and by the same messenger that brought you my last; but it finding him, it seems, just going out of town, to the burying of Sir John Cotton,* he but yesterday, upon being returned, sent me his answer. By which I learn that he does resolve to endeavour his continuance in the keepership of that library, and waits the coming together of the Trustees, two of whom, he tells me, are abroad.

As to the matter of the oaths,† I perceive he thinks that, for a place of trust only, and that no political one, and yet without any salary, they may not be thought, in strictness, necessary; a point that will require a meeting of the Trustees to determine. Till that be decided, you have it before you to consider how far it may be behooveful for you to appear in it, because of Dr. Smith's so many fair pretences, before any

* See supra, p. 268.

† "13 W. III. *cap.* vi. requires all persons in office and members of the Universities, above eighteen, attorneys and schoolmasters, to take the abjuration oath; as also peers and members of Parliament.

"The royal assent was given by commission, March 2, 1702, on which the King, from weakness, was forced to stamp his name. He died on the 8th."—*Chron. Hist.* i. 311.

man's, as all that know his long relation to it, and services therein to the public, must, I believe, agree. But how far the business of the oaths may operate, I cannot foresee. But if that should do so, to the preventing my old and good friend, Dr. Smith, (which, truly, I should be sorry for,) pray, spare not to call for my service in your own behalf. For, Dr. Smith not succeeding, I would neglect no interest I have in the world to further yours, and think that I do not you so much a service, but I do the public a greater in so doing. Of this I beg you to be assured, from

Your most humble and affectionate servant,

S. PEPYS.

These
For my esteemed friend, Mr. Wanley.

PEPYS TO MR. WANLEY.

SIR, Clapham, Tuesday, Michaelmas Day, 1702.

YOU giving no occasion of saying anything more presently about the Library matter, I could not till last night, know certainly where Dr. Shadwell* is to be found, (he not being in town,) which I have now learned is at the Bath. So

* "Sir John Shadwell, of Chelsea, M.D. and F.R.S. (son of the Laureat,) was physician to Queen Anne. He married an actress of Charles II.'s days; but she followed her profession upon the stage so late as 1696. Off the stage she had no other *calling* but that of a good wife and mother."—*Noble*, i. 257.

that you have nothing now to do but, by two words, to tell me which you most incline to, viz. that I write to him immediately thither, or that it be respited for his return hither.

You may please, therefore, to direct me herein, as you, who can best judge, conceive of most use to the young gentleman, your friend; and be sure both of my own and nephew's ready compliance with your desire therein, to the best effect our interest with Dr. Shadwell can amount to, towards the serving a person of the character you give Mr. Bouchier.

I am, always,

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

These
For Mr. Wanley.

PEPYS TO MR. WANLEY.

SIR, Clapham, October 4, 1702.

BOTH myself and my nephew have wrote in terms of more than common earnestness to Dr. Shadwell at the Bath, in favour of Mr. Bouchier, and not without good hopes of its success, as far, at least, as his friendship can contribute towards it.

I send you M. Daillé's Use of the Fathers,*

* See supra, p. 270; note. "Dispassionate men," says Adam Clarke, "have sided with Daillé, *concerning the right use of the*

and here add the quotation you desire, out of the Chronicon of Victor Tununensis, in Africâ Episcopus, who lived about the year 550.

" Messala V. C. Coss. Constantinopoli, jubente Anastasio Imperatore, Sancta Evangelia, tanquam ab *Idiotis Evangelistis* composita reprehenduntur et emendantur."*

The sight of the specimen of your catalogue

Fathers, and firmly believe that the authority of Scripture alone should be appealed to in every article of polemic divinity."—*Bib. Dict.* iii. 91.

Daillé has been justly claimed, by learned Protestants, as a distinguished and successful advocate of their *professed* principles of private judgment, as opposed to the Catholic authority of tradition. Thus Reimmanus:—

" Johannes Dallæus, *de usu Patrum* (1646. *Genevæ*, 1686) Vir cui robur et æs triplex, circa pectus, Curiæ Romanæ terror, Pontificiorum omnium flagellum. Docuit 'Patrum allegationes non esse medium idoneum, et sufficiens ad demonstrandam veritatem eorum de religione capitum quæ *Ecclesia Romana* creditu necessaria esse statuit.'" — *Biblioth. Reimmannianæ*, (1731) p. 94; also pp. 55. and 515.

Reimman, of Hildersheim, died 1743, aged fifty-five. See " Biographie Universel," (*Paris*) xxxvii. 276.

* Victor Tununensis, who wrote a Chronicle ending at 566, as above, says:

" When Messala was consul (506) at Constantinople, by order of the Emperor Anastasius, the holy Gospels, being written by illiterate evangelists, are censured and corrected."

Lardner,-to whose *credibility* (Part II. ch. clv.) I am indebted for this translation, quotes the original, *verbatim*, as in the letter of Pepys; adding:—

" Some have hence argued, that the copies of the New Testament (of the Gospels, at least) have not come down to us as they were originally written, they having been altered in the

of the Saxon MSS.* will be very welcome to me, and shall be returned to you in your two days as strictly as I expect my Daillé again in a month.

Your affectionate humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

These
For my worthy friend, Mr. Wanley.

PEPYS TO MR. WANLEY.

SIR, Clapham, October 6, 1702.

SINCE you have given me a day more for overlooking your accurate works, I will take it, and no more, and thank you.

I thank you, too, for your temperance, in asking no more in the Library matter from me than consists with my old and just friendship for Dr.

time of the Emperor Anastasius, who began his reign in 491, and died in 518."

Lardner proceeds to offer some considerations sufficient to show that learned men have, with good reason, generally looked upon this story of Victor as fabulous. See Lardner's *Works*, (1788) v. 294, 5.

For the discussion (no *amica collatio*) between Collins and Bentley, on *Idiotis Evangelistis;* see "Discourse of Freethinking," (1713) pp. 89, 90. *Philelutherus Lipsiensis*, (1743) pp. 109-120. *Collins* in *Biog. Brit.* (1789) iv. 23. *Note* F.

* *Libri Saxonici* form one class of MSS. in the Cottonian Library. See *Cat.* (1777) pp. 102-106; also *supra*, p. 268, and *Appendix.*

Smith. Nor, I assure you, shall you have anything less; and, therefore, so soon as it shall appear to me that he, finally refusing them, and the Trustees finally insisting on the oaths, (which I am told is yet undetermined,) I am at liberty as to him, I beg you to depend on my service, and not to spare requiring it of me, as what I shall think due to you before any person I know in England.

And remain your truly affectionate servant,

S. PEPYS.

Mr. Dundas* has, this day, brought me his performance, much outdoing the original, in my belief.

These
For Mr. Wanley.

PEPYS TO MR. WANLEY.

SIR, Clapham, October 8, 1702.

I AM very sorry for your head-ache, but hope it will be soon over, my nephew telling me you are but too often troubled with it.

When you are at ease, I will take care for your seeing Mr. Dundas's performance, it being truly extraordinary, and what I am mightily pleased with.

* See *infra*, Oct. 10.

I take this day's opportunity for keeping my word in returning your catalogue, with great thanks, it being a work of infinite labour and exactness. I wish you well discharged of it, for your honour and the good of the public, to whom the additions you mention thereto will be greatly delightful as well as useful. I am

Your humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

These
For Mr. Wanley.

PEPYS TO THE REV. JOHN HUDSON.*

REVEREND SIR, Clapham, Saturday, October 10, 1702.

I OUGHT not to leave you unacquainted with the issue of my late negociation (to your trouble) with Mr. Dundas, it proving, to my entire satisfaction, and, indeed, to my no less surprise, by how much he has not only made good his under-

* "The learned Bodleian Librarian."—*Lit. Anecd.; Illustrations*, iii. 293.—*Nichols.* The services of this learned *Oxonian* Pepys had very lately (*Cor.* pp. 277-282.) engaged, on his presenting Dr. Wallis's picture, by Kneller, to the University.

Dr. Hudson composed a "very large catalogue of books in the Bodleian Library. In 1712 he became Principal of St. Mary Hall; and before his decease in 1719, had published new editions of Thucydides and Josephus."—See Pointer's *Oxoniensis Academia*, (1749) pp.140, 254.

taking to me, of writing the whole contents of your original, as well and legibly, and precisely within the same space, but with the addition of several words omitted therein, viz. *Omnipotentem et Dominum nostrum,* in the Creed; and *Anno Domini,* at the end of the whole, before the figures 1577: and, besides this, has, of his own accord, as well in compliment to me as in right to himself, proceeded further, and finished all thus:

Pari spatio præcedentia omnia scripsit emendavit, auxit, subjiciensque insupèr (Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto: sicut erat in principio, est nunc, et semper, et in secula seculorum. Amen.)

Clarissimo viro Samueli Pepys totum, cum seipso, consecrat Joannes Dundas, Scotus, Anno Domini, 1702.

And all this he has done so much without crowding, as to have left a fair space of separation between the old work and his own, and a void enough for a short line more at the bottom, and yet so as not only to come within Dr. Gregory's * pattern of yours, but what I do fairly cover with the common hammered penny of King Charles the First. Which, put together, does truly render his performance herein very extraordinary, and, possibly, the most so of anything that has hitherto been done of the like

* Described by "Dr. Charlett to Pepys" as "Professor of Astronomy, Colleague to Dr. Wallis."—*Cor.* p. 284.

kind;* nor (I thank him) does he seem to go away less satisfied with my five guineas, the reward promised him, than I am with what he has done for it.

It remains that, with a thousand thanks for your kind offices towards both him and me, towards it.

I am, Reverend Sir,
Your most humble servant,
S. Pepys.

My nephew, also, prays me to salute you, most respectfully, with his most humble services.

PEPYS TO MR. WANLEY.

Sir, Sunday, October 11, 1702.

I congratulate your amendment, and wish its improvement, in hopes that then, and not sooner, I may have your summons for my coach, to wait on you hither, that we may talk a little over M. Daillé and your by-notes, upon his subject of the Fathers.

In the mean while, I shall thank you for a sight of the English *Essay*† you mention, which I don't remember to have seen.

* For notices of other very minute and curious performances of a similar description, see *Appendix.*

† "Men before Adam," on which, among Pepys's MSS. are "Some Reflections by Rev. Jer. Wells." See *Appendix.*

Mrs. Skinner is your very humble servant, and so is my nephew; and nothing less am I.

Your humble and truly affectionate servant,

S. PEPYS.

These

For Mr. Wanley.

PEPYS TO MR. WANLEY.

SIR, Clapham, October 20, 1702.

I RETURN you, very thankfully, your discourse about our imperfect translations of the Bible,* which, with your painful and ingenious criticism upon it, I have, with great delight, read over, but not as I will when my own, now binding, comes home, when I may have leisure to turn to his quotations, and apply them, which I have not now done. But, however, I am not, any more than you, equally satisfied with all the author or translator, advances; but there are a very great number of particulars, that are very entertaining, and to be acquiesced in.

Had you been at home, I had directed my man, Jones, to have brought me back Dr. Shadwell's letters, as not knowing, otherwise, how to answer them, as we would, to the further benefit of Mr. Bourchier.

* "An Essay for a New Translation of the Bible, wherein is shewn, from Reason, and the Authority of the best Commentators, Interpreters, and Critics, that there is a necessity for a New Translation." See *Appendix*.

I am most willing to stay your own time for my sending my coach for you, and therefore do not incommode yourself as to your other affairs, till you are fully at leisure, and then we will talk upon Monsieur Daillé's matters.

Mrs. Skinner and my nephew repay your respect to them. And so adieu!

Your very humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

These
For Mr. Wanley.

SIR ANTHONY DEANE * TO PEPYS.

SIR, October 29, 1689.

THESE are only to let you know I am alive. I have nothing to do but read, walk, and prepare for all chances, attending this obliging world. I have the old soldier's request,† a little space between business and the grave, which is very pleasant on many considerations.

Rawl. A. 170, 32-33

* "Out of Worcestershire, a letter of respect and mortification."—S. P. The answer to this letter will be found in page 238.

† To the Emperor Charles V. "Certain Capitaine de Cavalérie demandant son congé à sa Majesté, et étant interrogé quelle raison il avoit de se vouloir retirer, dit qu'entre les peines de la vie et l'heure de la mort l'on devoit profiter de quelque tems." See "Les Actions Heroiques et Plaisantes de l'Empereur."

Dr. Young, in his "Centaur not Fabulous," (Letter II. On Pleasure,) refers to the story, with some variations. Thus, addressing a gay assembly, he says:

"Ye fine men of rank and parts, a common soldier (your

As most men, towards their latter end, grow serious, so do I in assuring you that I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

A. DEANE.

For my esteemed friend Samuel Pepys, Esq.
London. These.

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contempt, no doubt) shall reproach you. One of them, requesting dismission from Charles V, gave this reason for it: 'Inter vitæ negotia, extremumque diem, oportet aliquod temporis intercedere:' much more," adds the Christian divine, "inter vitæ voluptates and our last hour," as if fighting had been more the rational business of life than "dancing, into death."

The following Letters were presented to the Editor as the concluding portion of this Work was passing through the press, which will account for their not appearing in chronological order with the preceding letters.—ED.

SIR, (Derby House) March 1, 1676-7.

YOU will allow one so much in want as I am of what you so much abound with, to be solicitous in the getting all that he can raise any pretence of right to from you. Therefore, pray remember the notes you showed me a specimen of when last I had the honour of seeing you here.

For as full of Parliament-causes as one would think a man in my circumstances should at this time be, I have kept room for the thoughts you are to inspire me with upon the subject we then discoursed of, and should have worse borne my want of them thus long, but for the entertainment you then left with me of the most hopeful gentleman your son's preparing. In whose early proofs of his ingenuity and style, I will not now go about to tell you how much I either value him or congratulate you, but leave it to my next waiting on you.

Your most faithful and most humble
servant, S. PEPYS.

SIR, Thursday night, October 2, 1685.

MIGHTY sorry I am that I was not in the way to enjoy you to-day, being gone (the only time I have been able to do it this summer) to make a visit to good Mrs. Ewer at Clapham. But I have two reasons to desire you will give me your company to-morrow noon,—first, because we will be alone; and next, I have something to show you, that I may not have another time.

Your most obedient servant,
S. PEPYS.

MR. EVELYN'S NOTE ON THE ABOVE LETTER.

THAT which was showed me was, two papers attested by his present Majesty's hand, to be true

copies of the originals, which, some day before, he had showed Mr. Pepys privately, — that his late brother, Charles the Second, was of long time since a Roman Catholic. The papers contained several points of religion, labouring to cast heresy, schism, &c. on the Church of England, but, in my judgment, without any force or reason, and a thousand times confuted.

Endorsed by Mr. Evelyn — " Mr. Pepys, concerning the religion of his Majesty King Charles II."

HONOURED SIR, August 30, 1689.

I SHALL never be anxious about pardon for not doing what I ought, where what I ought is what I cannot. And such is the giving a due answer to the inestimable honour and favour of your letter of this day; and so much the less estimable by that alone for which you would censure it, its length; as containing, in less than five pages, what would cost me five volumes reading from any other hand but Mr. Evelyn's. And yet some answer you shall, in time, have to it, and the best I can give you, namely, by my endeavouring to leave no one syllable of it unpractised that you have had the goodness to teach me in it, and lies within the reach of my pate and purse to execute.

Let this, I beg you, suffice to be said upon it at the first view: for though I could hardly find time to take breath till I had gone through it,

yet I won't promise to have done reading it this month. One word only I would now say to you, upon your first words about the place I have been bold in dooming your picture to, namely, that besides forty other reasons I had (founded upon gratitude, affection, and esteem) to covet that in effigy which I most truly value in the original, I have this one more, that I take it for the only head living I can hope to invite most by after it, of those few, whose memories, when dead, I find myself wishing I could do aught to perpetuate. Among which fills a principal place the most excellent Mr. Boyle, concerning whom I lately bespoke your favour, and dare now be the bolder in doing it again, from my having heard that he has newly been prevailed with by Dr. King to have his head taken by one of much less name than Kneller's, and a stranger, one Casaubon.

I am ever your most obedient servant,
and honoured,
S. PEPYS.

DEAR SIR, August 14, 1694.

I HAVE been a good deal out of order myself, but much more so in my family, for some time, and have three down, at this hour, of the fever of the season; but, I thank God! none mortally, but, on the contrary, well advanced in their recovery. This, however, has kept me a great

while under care, and the more from the novelty of it, it being, among all domestic evils, that which, by God's favour, I have been least exercised with, and has set me, as one effect of it, greatly in arrear to all my friends, and to you at the head of them, for which I am now looking out for pardons, and with most concernment for yours; which, pray, let this obtain for me.

I am owing to you for two, the former in May, the other in July.

Your Virginia letter was delivered immediately after my receipt of it to the merchant's own hand from which you had yours.

I earlily did your commands to my Lord Clarendon, and since have had the honour of a visit from him, when your name wanted not the mention due to it from all that know it and themselves.

Dr. Gale acknowledges himself your debtor, as I am his, for all the ease I have had a great while, the greatest ingredient of which is, the frequent remembrance his conversation starts occasions for between us, of our distant friend, Mr. Evelyn.

Mr. Bentley is still, I believe, at Worcester, and a great man wherever he is. But 'tis winter only that will help us to any tidings, I doubt, either of his library or lectures.

You have great reason to joy yourself as you do in such a neighbourhood as that of Mr. Wotton's, whose incomparable "Discourse" I read be-

times, and was to blame I did not first do right to it to you. He is, indeed, to be reckoned among the leaders of the age for learning, through all the dimensions of it,—length, breadth and depth; and if he lives a little longer, as I hope he will a great deal, he will have nothing left him to do, but what nobody but himself was, or possibly will ever be, so fitted to do as he, — I mean, the reducing into less room what poor mankind is now to turn over so many cumbersome, *jejune*, and not seldom unintelligible, volumes for; and when that is done, not have five, perhaps not one year to reckon upon of his whole life, for the sedate applying and enjoying those sorry pittances of seeming knowledge, that he possibly has been fifty in collecting. What a debt were this to lay upon mankind! and from what hand ever to be hoped for, but that of such an universalist as Mr. Wotton? and one so soon arrived at the being so? I shall hope for the honour and pleasure of waiting on him, whenever the season, or business, shall bring you to town together.

I enclose you a paper, new to me, and so, it may be, to you, — the inscription on the late venerable Bishop of Oxford's monument, which has something very awful in it, and answering his character.

The virtuosi there are, you know, gathering and printing a general catalogue of what manuscripts, public or private, our country is possessed

of. It is, indeed, a work that I have long wished; not that I have aught of my own to contribute to it; but I well remember how much I have been obliged to them that have, — I mean yourself; and believe there are a great many other valuable things in ingenuous men's hands, that, like you, would be glad to communicate them, where they thought the public might be served by it; and this in all faculties. I send you the freshest account I have had from Oxford of their advance herein, and, with it, must give you the postscript of a letter I lately had on this subject from our learned and most solicitous friend in this and all like virtuous undertakings, Dr. Charlett, (Master of University College,) in his own few words: — "We must not forget Mr. Evelyn's MSS:" — and "what became of Sir Richard Brown's?" This he meant but for a text for me to enlarge on to you; but it needs not, the doctrine and application of it being self-evident. Let me only add my instance to his, that you would further this work with the credit of what your stocks will give it.

I take the liberty of sending you the newest French toy, that is come to my hand, which, if you have not seen, will not want some divertisement for you, if you may be thought to need any, where you are so well and variously employed as your letters show me.

My lady will, I hope, find her end in the use of

the waters, and, ere this, is returned home possessed of it. I wish her steadiness of health, and to you too; and with my most profound respects to both, remain,

Dear Mr. Evelyn,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

S. Pepys.

Dr. Lock* has set a useful sample for future re-printers: I hope it will be followed, in books, at least, of value. I have read the little thing the Bishop recommended to you, about Reason and Religion, and found great satisfaction in it. Adieu!

EVELYN'S REPLY TO THE PRECEDING LETTER.

"Ecce iterum provocas me beneficiis, neque habeo ullum ἀντίδωρον," which plunges me more and more into debt; this last packet of yours coming freighted with so many favours at once, that I know not which first to give you thanks for, all of them deserving my particular acknowledgment.

I am pleased with these *Valesianas;* they are to me like those *Entermesses* which are placed between the larger dishes, not to make a meal upon, but for relish, and fill up vacancies. I wish we had more of these Attic nights, and am glad to find they come into fashion; nor do I

* The celebrated John Locke.

look upon them as scraps, but as Bellaria et Cupediæ, which refresh with their pretty variety when one has been tired with digging and turning over the rubbish you complain of, which, after all the toil and time, repays one with so little advantage. With you, therefore, I have a thousand times deplored that there has as yet been so little done towards the ridding us of this monstrous and unprofitable lumber. Towards this desideratum, the honest Gesner has done his part; and such as of late have taken pains in the history of animals and plants. Dr. Pell left a diatyposis of what he intended to do in the mathematical cycle; and Dr. Wilkins, in his Preliminary to the real character, scored out many most useful tables preparatory to such a work—I mean not to the knowledge of words alone, but of things, greatly assisted to such an undertaking. Here must not be forgotten my Lord Bacon, with his caution concerning epitomes: — and yet, I pray, what would be the loss if some of our tedious historians were contracted to so little loss, as Dio has suffered by John Xiphilene, and most of the Fathers of the Church by Du Pin? I, some years since, read Clemens Alexandrinus with much application, which is, you know, a book of no small variety: I do not find that Du Pin has missed of any material passage. Of this class are the Prolegomena to the Polyglot Bibles, &c. In the mean time, what a benefactor was he, that was

able and willing to give us such a catalogue of authors as were only and absolutely and fully effectual to the attaining of such a competency of practical and useful knowledge as one might hope to gather within the ordinary circle of one life, without being bewildered and quite out of the way, when we should be at home. I am persuaded this were very seasonable, and that less than an hundred books, studied in good method, would go a great way towards this end: I do not mean exclusive to the classic authors, which in a very few years may all be read, together with all the Greek and Latin historians of note, beginning with Herodotus; but I speak of the subsidiary arts and other faculties, as far as might accomplish one who did not intend a particular profession, or, if he did, might find the rest no burden to him. I know you have read Grotius his Epistle to Monsieur Maures; I think it is his first *ad Gallos:* what then might a younger man, who sets out early, have attained by some such method? But I am not writing to one who needs directions in any kind of valuable learning, but to one who would promote a common good; and I concur with you in all you say of Mr. Wotton upon this subject. It is now near three weeks since I have seen him, about which time he went to London, and whether he be yet returned I have not heard, only a little before he went he showed me a letter from Mr. Bentley, intimating that so

much business was likely to be encumbent on him, that he should not be able to continue his lecture long, and therefore most earnestly conjured him to take it up, there being no man so well furnished for it, withal giving him a short account after what method he intended to proceed. Since this, I have lately received a letter from the Bishop of Lincoln.

DEAR MR. EVELYN, York Buildings, Nov. 7, 1694.

IF, as old as you are, you fancy yourself at liberty to do what you will with yourself, you mistake, for I, and many more, have too great a stock going in your bottom, not to insist upon your taking more care on't than to be running out of a warm room into a cold wherry in November, as you did from me on Saturday last, — for it is to it I impute your cold, and would be glad I could as well ease you of it; but, God be thanked! you have a good nurse.

I thank you for your kind message yesterday, and, in answer, am to tell you, that the purport of my motion to you the other day was, that, at your first visit to my Lord Godolphin after his return from Newmarket, you would take occasion of letting him know, that in case he continues his commands on me relating to Greenwich, I have obeyed him in recollecting some of my old

thoughts on that matter, so as to be in a condition of applying them as soon as I shall be master of the *plan* I am to conform myself to in it, which his lordship was pleased to say I should have, and is become the more necessary from Sir Christopher Wren's having, since his lordship's going, been with me upon the same errand from Sir Stephen Fox, and I with him at Greenwich; but under a view of a design very different from what his lordship gave me, has seeming by Mr. Surveyor to be calculated only for turning the new building there into an infirmary for such seamen as shall happen to be sent sick or wounded into the river for cure, during the present war. Not but that I have since had another account of it from him; but that also of an extent as much beyond my first notion of it as this was short of it; namely, the raising another wing of building answerable to that already there, with a gallery between both, and an apparatus of every sort, as well for elegancy as bulk, within doors as without, that may render it an *Invalides* with us for the sea, suitable in some degree to that of Paris for the land, and so much more as it is to take in a provision for the widows, orphans, and seamen slain, as well as for the persons of such as age, infirmities, or wounds, shall have rendered incapable of farther services; which as it is a design of a much higher rate, so will it call for thoughts of

a much greater compass than what I had any occasion of exercising upon the scheme my unhappy master had laid for a work of like kind on the same ground; or what his lordship had now led me to with some report to that. Nor dare I encourage my Lord to expect from me, upon a project of this magnitude, what possibly he might not think too much for me upon a design more within my reach: but, be it greater or less, if my Lord thinks I may have any remains of observation worth his calling for, the work is too near akin to me and to the commands I have heretofore had concerning it, to let it want any degree of furtherance I can give it; besides, what my particular regard to my Lord Godolphin do of right require from me. Whereof you may please to assure his lordship; but withal to remind him of what, at his first opening of this matter, I took leave of observing to him, that no fund or method of settlement other than parliamentary will, I doubt, be found of sufficiency for this undertaking, and that therefore as its publicness renders it worthy thereof, and the reason of it, when rightly opened, must be allowed to challenge it—especially from a Parliament that seems as little disposed to deny as any I ever sat in, not to grant aught that came handed to it from the Court: this very session should not, methinks, be let pass unapplied towards it.

Forgive me this trouble, as on an errand you

first brought me, and are, I am sure, a friend to; and remember that I am, most affectionately,

Your faithful and most obedient servant,

SAM. PEPYS.

Endorsed by Mr. Evelyn, — "Mr. Pepys to me, concerning an Infirmary for seamen, &c. to be built at Greenwich."

NEPHEW, November 19th, 1700.

HAVING nothing new since the last post of the 11th instant, by the way of France to Cadix, I send you, for fear of missing you there, this copy of it by the Groyne to Lisbon, with this little enlargement only upon what I therein told you you might expect from me, relating to your conduct at Madrid, which, in short, is this: I have reflected upon it, that England has, I think, no public minister at this day at that court. If I am mistaken, you have nothing to do but, as a traveller and his countryman, to wait on him, offering him at this juncture any service he may think you capable, as such, of rendering the King or him, either there or in your way homeward, as you are designed to come; founding this part of your compliment upon the knowledge and favour you have of, and obligations to, Mr. Secretary Vernon, and the duty you are concerned to pay him at your return. This may possibly produce something that may be useful to you: if not, it is at least a gentlemanlike office, better done than omitted.

But if I should prove in the right, and that there be indeed nobody in public character from hence there, in that case, I would recommend it to you to use all the safe sagacity you can in gathering any well-grounded notices of the particular state of things and persons at this day there; the different interests now walking there, and their different weights; and what solid and manly remarks of your own you can make herein; enough to furnish out a letter to me, mixed with other familiar notes as a traveller, that may be of credit to you, as well as otherwise meriting reflection, where I may see it of use to have it read, and particularly *where you are owing for your first leave to go abroad.* But herein, above all things, let there be nothing trivial or ill-founded, nothing of any inferences or advices of your own upon it, but bare matters of fact occurring to you as a traveller, and those as fresh as you can at the date of your writing, and as soon despatched away as you are able, when written.

If there be any other of quality, our countrymen, there, though not of public character, it may be for your purpose to make yourself known to them; besides, what your Spanish and Spaniard may otherwise help you to.

Since my writing thus far, we are come, in a great measure, to see day, in what to this moment we were wholly in the dark in, notice being just

now fully brought us of the King of France's having quitted what he was to expect from the Treaty of Partition of the Spanish dominions, and accepted of the King of Spain's will for the whole, declaring his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, King of Spain, and having adjusted all things for his speedy setting out towards that kingdom, and his taking possession of its crown. And though it be hard to foresee what the Emperor will do upon it, or whether anything or no, yet, in all probability, this young King will find no interruption in his access to the throne, which is one great step, at least, towards the holding it. Which being now the case, and that very different from what it was at the beginning of this chapter, there seems not to be the same room for your doing what I then thought you might in what I recommended to you, and the less, too, from its not being yet known what part England is likely to act on this occasion; yet it is not impossible but you may find matter for your observation of one sort or other there upon the place, that may not be unentertaining, and may not otherwise meet with conveyance to us at this distance here, I being now more fully informed of our having nobody under public character now there, saving a Dutchman, who, acting as the servant of the States, is said to be the only hand employed in anything that is to be delivered there in the name of the King of England. I

leave it therefore to you to judge how far you can furnish yourself, as I have before said, with anything that may be of credit to you, where I would have it to transmit, upon this juncture, hither, as occurring to you in your travel only.

What I have to add is, with a good deal of content to tell you, that I have newly received your letter from Cadix, of the 25th October, and therefrom had full satisfaction in what as I have not spared in my former, to let you know my resentments, so you have yourself in this justified my doing so, in acknowledging your being afraid to own to me your breach of my directions, in relation to your being prevailed upon by Sir W. H. to accept of his house for your quarters. But your second letters coming to my hand first, wherein you passed over this matter with entire silence, prevented my knowing how to make any better or other construction of it than I did. But, as late as it is, the arrival of your first has set all right as to that particular, and so I leave it; only I could have wished you had at least shown him, by your having taken another lodging, (though you had left it for his afterwards,) that you were in earnest determined not to have troubled him.

And lastly, as to the length of your intended tour beyond my expectation; it is in your power to ease me very much in that, too, by using double industry in the improving it to your good, by the closeness of your attention to all you can find

worth your looking after therein: and with regard also to your expense and time, and therein as much as may be to cast your journeys so as may give you the advantage of this juncture, in what is to be seen at court, relating either to the obsequies of the dead king, or preparations for the reception of the new one, whom possibly you may have the good luck to meet upon the road, in his way from Bayonne, if he should not come time enough to Madrid to be seen by you there, which (so far I am desirous to further your satisfaction and curiosity herein, as in your whole travel) I could be content to purchase at the charge of ten or twenty days' extraordinary, if that would do it; but otherwise, would not willingly lose so much of either. And so bidding you kindly adieu,

I rest your truly loving uncle,

S. Pepys.

Since my closing this, I have received yours of All-Souls-day, from Cadix, giving cover only to another to Mr. James Houblon, which, having perused to my satisfaction, and sealed, I have forwarded to him.

Your box, by the Benjamin, I have also this day received from the custom-house, but shall not open it without you.

Endorsed, November 19th, 1700. — "U. to me, to Lisbon, with copy of his last of 11th do.

"Received at Madrid, January 13th, 1701, and answered same day."

NEPHEW, York Building, Tuesday, December 3rd, 1700.

I HAVE just now received yours from Cadiz, of the 16th November, new style, wherein you tell me you then newly had mine, of the 8th October, old style, since which I have forwarded to you one of the 22nd ditto, to Lisbon; another of the 11th November, to Cadiz; and a third of the 19th ditto to Lisbon; and by these, acknowledged to you my receipt of three of yours, viz., two of the 25th, and 30th of October, and a third of the 2nd of November, from Cadiz, as I now am to do of one of the 8th, and this of the 16th ditto: so as I find good reason to join with you, touching the justice hitherto of the post to us both.

And now, in answer to your two last, and my thanking you for them, I am a little surprised to find you still at Cadiz, as believing the King of Spain's death would have urged you to the shortening every previous step you were to take on this side towards Madrid; besides the sense I have of any unnecessary delay you shall appear to make in your delivering Sir William Hodges and my Lady, of the trouble you otherwise continue to them and their family. Not but that I am very well pleased with your visits among the environs of Cadiz, among which, I hope, (though not named), the Cartuxos, beyond Port St. Mary's, near Xevez is one, as being a monastery of great wealth and extent, most worthy your seeing; but I would, as I doubt not but you

will, govern yourself in the tour Sir William Hodges has cut out for you, (which I so well like, as not to be willing you should miss any part of it,) so as to have always in your eye your being at Madrid, (if it be with any reason to be compassed as to charge and time,) at the entry of the new King, and according to the best adjustment I can make of your said tour thither, with what we hear of his intended passage to the same place, he having been now set out ten days from Paris, with purpose to spend forty in his whole journey to Bayonne, I am inclined to think you will be put to no great difficulty to make your designs meet; at least I heartily wish it, and at present, see no reason not to hope it. I wish you also good fortune in the choice of him that goes along with you, a good deal of the success as well as ease of your journey depending upon it.

I observe your notes already upon the genius of the Spaniard, from his little regard to true heraldry and otherwise, but you will see a great deal more of it before you leave their country.

I am so unacquainted with Lazazolles as not to know how to prize my disappointment about them, only I find Captain Hatton (who continues his respects to you) looks upon them as a curiosity, and upon the Lapis Fungifer too.

My Lady Hodges' present to you is a very acceptable one, and greatly you are her Ladyship's debtor for them. Pray see that you acknowledge

ing my return to, with some prospect of setting up my future rest there: but 'tis in Surrey, and so not out of the reach of him (my most honoured Mr. Evelyn) whom, of all the surviving world, I would last quit the neighbourhood of.

I have not yet made one step out of doors since I came last thence, nor shall, I believe, now do it before I go thither again, saving what I shall attempt to do for the taking my due leave of you, and two of my honoured friends more, your neighbours; and that I hope to do in a few days. In the mean time, I am

Your most obedient and most affectionate servant,

S. Pepys.

I am extremely joyed to hear of my Lady's being so well advanced in her recovery.

I dare not expect to see you to-day, though the day won't let me forget to wish it.

Dear Sir, Clapham, November 19, 1701.

As much as I am (I bless God!) in perfect present ease here, as to my health, 'tis little less, however, than a very burial to me, as to what of all worldly goods I put most price upon, I mean, the few old and learned friends I had flattered myself with the hopes of closing the little residue of my life in the continued enjoyment of, and at the head of them all, the most inestimable Mr. Eve-

lyn. But Providence, that must not be repined at, has thought fit to part us; yet not without a reserve, I trust, of another place of meeting for us, and better, and more lasting, for which God fit us!

Not that I mean this for a final God-b'-w'-you! for, one way or other, I hope we shall see one another before the winter be over, and possibly a great many other sights that we don't think of. In the time, in return for your most kind inquiries after me, I make this my messenger on the same errand after your health and my ever honoured Lady's, which I shall never want a most particular concern for.

'Twere endless to talk at this time of public matters, and not to much more purpose to think of them, if one could help it; but he is a much abler philosopher than I that can do it under the aspect they now seem to bear towards both Church and State.

Mrs. Skinner is my Lady's most obedient servant and yours; and my nephew most dutifully the same; and all of us, Mr. Evelyn's, your grandson's and my friend, with all respect.

I am, dearest Sir,

Your most faithful and ever most affectionate humble servant,

S. Pepys.

Dearest Sir, Clapham, December 24, 1701.

Dover Street at the top, and —— Evelyn at the bottom, had alone been a sight equal in the

pleasure of it to all I have had before me in my two or three months' by-work of sorting and binding together my nephew's Roman marketings: and yet I dare predict that even you won't think two hours thrown away in overlooking them, whenever a kindlier season shall justify my inviting you to it.

What then should I have to say to the whole of that glorious matter that was so enclosed in your last? Why truly, neither more nor less than that it looks to me like a seraphic how-d'-you from one already entered into the regions you talk of in it, and who has sent me this for a viaticum towards my speeding thither after him: which as the world now is, and you have so justly described, and being bereft, as I now am, of the very uppermost of my wonted felicities here, in your conversation and that of a very few virtuous friends more, I should, in very good faith, much rather choose to obey you in, by leading than staying to follow you.

I am, for public good's sake, as truly sorry as you for your friend's withdrawing; wishing only that I could as easily satisfy myself how he ever came in, as why he now goes out.

I fully agree with Mr. Evelyn, your excellent grandson, in his thinking it no longer worth his while to stay where he is; and do the like with you, too, in your next thoughts concerning him, if (which I could not easily wonder at, he being,

indeed, a jewel) your and my Lady his grandmother's tendernesses have determined against venturing him further from home. But, since you ask it, I cannot but in faithfulness tell you, that were he mine, and, if it were possible, ten times more valuable than he is, I should not, even for his and my family's sake, think the hazard of sending him abroad (to-morrow before next day, with a pass) for four or five months through Holland and Flanders to Paris, and so home — (a tour that, by the aid of your instructions, I myself, when time was, and with a wife with me, despatched in bare two, and to a degree of satisfaction and solid usefulness, that has stuck by me through the whole course of my life and business since) — I say, I should not think it a hazard fit to be named with that of his being, when your and my lady's heads shall be laid, and himself possibly engaged in conjugal and domestic incumbrances, tempted to do, what the deference which he cannot but by this time see paid to yourselves from all the politer world, on the account of the distinguishing perfections eminently raised in you from your foreign education, in addition to your native, must naturally, and therefore unavoidably, prompt him to, I mean, of looking abroad, when, I say, his home-concernments may possibly much worse bear it.

Nor have either of you, I trust, any ground to doubt a much longer continuance, through God's

favour, among your friends here, than is necessary for your seeing this over, and him well returned, before Midsummer next, to prosecute (and all in very good time) the course you are now designing him at the common law; thereby, with the furniture you have already given him, to qualify himself for making another-gates figure upon the Bench, in Parliament, in the Ministry, and every other the most sublime conversation, than any one among all that I have ever had the fortune to meet with of those we call, country gentlemen, purely English; and this, as little as you are willing to see it in yourselves, I am sure you know to be so.

Nor do I overlook what your note to me of Mr. Finch's thoughts herein in the case of his son, whom for my lady his mother's sake, as well as his illustrious father's, I cannot but be a most affectionate well-wisher to; but should rather join with him in them, when I reflect upon my friend his father-in-law Sir John Bankes's unfortunate conduct on the like occasion, were it not for my having been but too privy to the occasions of it, and my being well assured of their being all abundantly provided against in both your cases.

In a word, though it may look like a little overweening in me, yet I know not how to mistrust the validity of a doctrine that I have lived under more than thirty years' continued proof of the truth and usefulness of; and that raised not

from borrowed, but my own immediate notices of the different grace, as well as reality of performances, in persons of the highest forms, no less than greatest eminence in every of the stations above-mentioned; between those, I say, whose knowledge has been widened and refined by travel, and others whose observations have been stinted to the narrow practice of their own country. Nor am I without the satisfaction of being so far at least confirmed herein, from the little experiment I am just come from making upon your dutiful servant, my nephew Jackson; that though he be hardly yet at home, after a near two years' tour through Flanders, France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and through the Mediterranean by sea back, I shall struggle hard to give him two months' leisure within the next summer, to finish his travels with Holland, for the sake of the many eminent particularities to be met with at this juncture, that were never to be seen together there in any age past, nor possibly may ever again be in any to come: a sight, in one word, that, late as it is, I should hardly think too late even for myself to covet, had I you to wait on thither, for I am, in spite of this distance, with inseparable respect,

My ever honoured Mr. Evelyn,

Your most affectionately faithful and obedient servant,

S. Pepys.

Mrs. Skinner prays to be thought no less so to my lady; nor either myself or nephew, servants to the young gentleman. I have been here shooting my bolt about. Nor Mr. Hewer to you all; with wishes of a happy Christmas.

HONOURED SIR, Clapham, May 28th, 1703. (Friday night.)

'TIS no small addition to my grief, to be obliged to interrupt the quiet of your happy recess, with the afflicting tidings of my uncle Pepys's death, knowing how sensibly you will partake with me herein; but I should not be faithful to his desires if I did not beg your doing the honour to his memory of accepting mourning from him, as a small instance of his most affectionate respect and honour for you. I have thought myself extremely unfortunate to be out of the way at that only time when you were pleased lately to touch here, and express so great a desire of taking your leave of my uncle, which could not but have been admitted by him as a most welcome exception to his general orders against being interrupted: and I could most heartily wish that the circumstances of your health and distance did not forbid me to ask the favour of your assisting in the holding up of the pall at his interment, which is intended to be on Thursday next; for if the manes are affected with what passes below, I 'm sure this would have been very grateful to his.

I must not omit acquainting you, Sir, that upon opening his body (which the uncommonness of his case required of us, for our own satisfaction as well as public good) there was found in his left kidney a nest of no less than seven stones, of the most irregular figures your imagination can frame, and weighing together four and a half ounces, but all fast linked together and adhering to his back, whereby they solve his having felt no greater pains upon motion, nor other of the ordinary symptoms of the stone. The rest of that kidney was nothing but a bag full of ulcerous matter; which, irritating his bowels, caused an irresistible flux, and that, his destruction. Some other lesser defects there also were in his body, proceeding from the same cause: but his stamina in general were marvellously strong, and not only supported him under the most exquisite pains, weeks beyond all expectations, but, in the conclusion, contended for near forty hours (unassisted by any nourishment), with the very agonies of death, some few minutes excepted before his expiring, which were very calm.

There remains only for me, under this affliction, to beg the consolation and honour of succeeding to your patronage, for my uncle's sake, and leave to number myself with the same sincerity he ever did, among your greatest honourers, which I shall esteem as one of the most valuable parts of my inheritances from him; being also with the faith-

fullest wishes of health and a happy long life to you,

Honoured Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

JACKSON.

Mr. Hewer, as my uncle's executor, and equally your faithful servant, joins with me in every part hereof.

The time of my good uncle's departure was about three-quarters past three on Wednesday morning last.

Endorsed,—"Clapham, 28th May, 1703; from Mr. Jackson, upon the death of his uncle Mr. Pepys. Answered 29th May."

HONOURED SIR, Clapham, June 5th, 1703.

To what I troubled you with by Thursday's post, I have, by this messenger, only to add the repetition of my humblest thanks for the honours you have been pleased to do me, and to beg your own and young Mr. Evelyn's acceptance of the enclosed memorials of my good uncle Pepys, whose body was last night interred in the parish church of St. Olave's, Hart Street, by the Navy Office.

I am, with profoundest respect, honoured Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

JACKSON.

Endorsed,—"Mr. Jackson, Clapham, 3rd and 5th June, 1703; sending me rings, &c. for his uncle Pepys' funeral, who also sent me mourning. Answered 5th."

APPENDIX.

No. I.*

MONSIEUR MORELLI TO PEPYS.

" Illustrissimo Signoro, Lisbone, alli 7 de 8bre, 1674.

"Como ho sentito per la via del Signoro Tomaso Hill, cui debbo molte obligationi che V. S. Illustrissimo havena intentioni di favore et proteggemi in questa corte, restaro obligatissimo a V. S. Illustrissimo se io possa gradirla, se no con la mia poca capacita, al mino con il desio dessere

" De V. S. Illustrissimo

"Suo servitore humillissimo,

"Cesare Morelli."

Morn. 1284; Rawl. A. 175, 251

I am unable to supply the interval, till 1678 (i. 190), when Mr. James Houblon, after a sufficiently zealous *amica collatio*, finds Morelli " so resolved in his religion, that it will be in vain to hope his conversion;" Mr. Houblon has accordingly " propounded to him going to Brentwood." From hence he addressed to his patron the following letters, of which I have already given translations. It will be recollected that orders had been issued,

* See i. 158.

under the baneful influence of Protestant rancour and alarm, for Papists to quit the neighbourhood of the metropolis.

MONSIEUR MORELLI TO PEPYS.

" Monsieur, De Brentwood, Nov. 6, 1678.

" Apres mes très humble respects, je vous donne part de mon arrivé à Brentwood, Mardi au soir, chez des personnes forts civiles. Le lieu me plait fort, l'air est plus pur que celui de Londres, et par consequent fort propre pour ma voix, que j'espére de la cultiver sans oublier mon luth.

" Je vous croire pour ma satisfaction que votre esprit est plus en repos que je l'ai laissé, car je suis si sensible à vos afflictions, que s'il étoit necessaire pour vous rendre heureux, de perdre ma vie je vous la sacriferois de tout mon cœur.

" Jamais je ne serai capable à répondre à toutes les bontés qui à reçu celui qui est,

" Monsieur,

" Votre très humble, très affectionné, et très obligé,

" Cesare Morelli."

Rawl A. 175 : 261

MONSIEUR MORELLI TO PEPYS.

" Monsieur, De Brentwood, le 29 de Mai, 1679.

" J'ai reçu la chère votre, avec les cinq guinées qu'il vous plut de m'envoyer par votre cocher Norwich, donc je vous suis infiniment redevable.

" J'ai été fort réjoui d'entendre, par la votre, que votre innocence parle pour vous, et j'espére que l'orage donc vous étiez menacé, se dissipera à la confusion de ceux qui ne cherchent que votre destruction. Dieu ne permettant que les méchans triompherent toujours dans leurs malices,

Rawl. A. 175 : 263

comme dit bien le Psalmiste, (Psal. cxiii.) *Desiderium peccatorum peribit.*

" Je vous puis dire, qu'outre Mr. Hill, Mr. Bulteal, John Wight, John Clerk, et son associe, Mr. Parry agent d'Angleterre en Lisbon, le consul des Anglois en Portugal excepter ces merchants qui m'ont connu en Portugal et resident maintenant ici à Londres, comme Mr. John Bancks, Mr. March, Mr. James de Leonge, Mr. Paul Polixfern, et Mr. Delerout, touts peuvent confirmer de m'avoir jamais connu à Lisbon pour un prêtre moins pour un jesuiste, car si j'avais été tel, j'aurois été obligé sur peine d'excommunication de me vêtir en prêtre en Portugal ayant reçu à Lisbon en quatre ans en habits comme je me reste ici, si cela ne vous contente point, je vous prie de me dire tout les points en quoi vous desirez d'être satisfait et soyez asuré d'être obei ponctuallement par Monsieur,

" Votre très obligé et très fidelle serviteur,

" Cesare Morelli."

The correspondence continued, occasionally, while Morelli resided at Brentwood, under the patronage, and, as appears, at the charge of Pepys. The last letter in the present collection is dated " Brentwood, Aug. 15, 1681." In the Correspondence of Pepys, edited by Lord Braybrooke (p. 48), is one dated April 11th preceding, in which Morelli affectionately regrets the " painful feaver " with which Pepys had been afflicted; adding, in his still imperfect English, which I here copy *literatim*: —

" I pray God it will not vex your body too much: & if by chance it should vex you longer, there is here a man that can cure it with simpathetical powder, if you please to send me down the pearinghs of the nailes of both your hands & your foots, & three locks of hair of the top of

your crown. I hope, with the grace of God, it will cure you."*

Morelli probably soon returned to the Continent, whence he wrote the following letter, his second and last, edited in 1825. After recounting various domestic privations and embarrassments, he is soliciting Pepys (whether with or without success does not appear) to procure him a musical appointment in the chapel of James II.

MONSIEUR MORELLI TO PEPYS.

" Bruxelles, ce 23 Novembre,
Stile de Flandre, 1686.

" MONSIEUR, ET MON UNIQUE BIENFAITEUR,

" JE vous demande mille pardons de ce que je vous n'a pas écrit plutót; mais la cause fut, que ayant trouvé ma mère et ma sœur mortés, j'ai été obligé d'aller au pays d'Hainault pour voir l'état des peu d'héritage qui étoit resté, mais ayant vus je les ai trouvés tous ~~mai~~ées, et les maisons abattues, par les dernières guerres de l'Espagne avec le France, tellement qu'il m'est resté que les simples terres, et ceux la en mauvais état; je les ai voulu vendrei mais on m'a offert si peu que rien.

" Si j'aurois su avant mon départ de Londres le méchant de mes affaires en Flandre, je m'aurois pas m'éloigné de votre protection.

" Le bruit s'étende par tout que sa Majestie Brittanique va former sa Chapelle de Musiciens; vous m'avez fait espérer par votre puissant appui que j'en servis un du nombre, si vous avez encore les même bonté pour votre créature je me transporterez avec joie pour jouir les effets de vos graces, et en même temps vous donner des preuves

* Abundant information on this delusion, as well as on the *weapon-salve*, another rare article among the " follies of the wise," may be found in the Life of Sir Kenelm Digby.

Rawl. A. 189 f. 270

et marques de ma gratitude par mes continuelles soins de vous plaire en ce que vous m'honorerez de vos commandement. Entretemps je prie Dieu pour la prosperité de votre très chère personnne, étant, éternellement, Monsieur, et mon unique bienfaiteur.

"Votre très humble et très obligé serviteur,

"CESARE MORELLI."

No. II.*

Since the letter of Daniel Skinner passed through the press, I have further availed myself of the courtesy and accommodation so freely afforded to literary inquirers at the State-Paper Office. From thence are printed the following documents, copied *verbatim*, and amply sufficient, I presume, to settle the questions as to Milton's MSS., and especially as to the bequest by which they became the possession of his friend, Daniel Skinner the younger.

"MONSIEUR, D'Amsterdame, le 23me Novembre 1676.

"IL y a environ un an que je suis convenu avec Monsieur Skinner d'imprimer les Lettres de Milton, et un autre Manuscript en Théologie; mais, ayant reçu les dits Manuscripts, et y ayant trouvé des choses que je jugeois être plus propres d'être supprimés que divulgés, j'ay pris résolution de n'imprimer n'y l'un n'y l'autre. J'avois écrit pour ce sujet à Monsieur Skinner à Cambridge; mais comme il n'a pas été au dit lieu depuis quelque temps, ma lettre ne lui étoit parvenue. Sur cela il est arrivé en cette ville, et a été ravi d'entendre que je n'avois pas commencé d'imprimer les dits Traités, et il a repris ses Manuscripts.

* See i. 174. 178.

Londres avoit eu quelques Lettres de quelqu'un qui les avoit dérobé à feu Milton ; mais n'y lui n'y moi n'avois eu aucune part à cette impression ; de quoi je vous prie de vouloir être persuadé.

" To Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State."

TRANSLATION.

SIR, Amsterdam, November 20, 1676.

ABOUT a year ago, I agreed with Mr. Skinner to print Milton's Letters, and another manuscript on Theology: but having received the manuscripts, and found them to contain many things which I considered more proper to be suppressed than divulged, I determined not to print either the one or the other. I wrote on this subject to Mr. Skinner, at Cambridge; but as he has not been there lately, my letter did not reach him for some time: whereupon he came to this city, and was overjoyed to find that I had not begun to print the said treatises, and has taken away his manuscripts.

He told me you have been informed, Sir, that I was going to print the whole of Milton's Works, together. I protest to you that I never had such a thought; and I should detest to print the treatises he has written in defence of such a wicked and abominable cause: besides, it would ill become the son of him who first printed " Salmasii Defensio Regia,"* and who would have laid down his

* 1649, *Anon.* The second edition, *sumptibus Regiis*, (1652,) is now before me. It is entitled, " Cl. Salmasii Defensio Regia, pro Carolo I. ad Serenissimum Magnæ Britanniæ Regem Carolum II, Filium natu majorem, hæredem et successorem legitimum, *Editio nova ab auctore aucta et recognita.*"

Milton's edition of 1649 was followed by " Joannis Miltoni Angli, pro populo Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii Anonymi, aliàs Salmasii, Defensionem regiam. *Lond.* 1651." A translation (1692) by Mr. Washington, of the Temple, " was burnt at Paris and at Toulouse. But this," says Todd, " procured it more readers."

life to have saved the late King, of glorious memory, to print a book so detested by all loyal men. I beg to acquaint you, Sir, that Mr. Skinner expressed the greatest pleasure that I had not begun the printing of those works; and told me, that in case the said book had been commenced, it was his intention to have bought up all the copies, in order to suppress them; and that he had determined to dispose of those manuscripts in such a manner as that they should never again appear; and I can assure you, Sir, that I will be answerable to you for the decided resolution I have taken, of not making use of them myself, particularly since he had the honour of speaking to you, and that you informed him you should be displeased if these manuscripts should appear; and as he expects his promotion by your means, there can be no doubt but he will keep his word.

I cannot, Sir, conclude this letter without expressing my acknowledgements for the kindness you showed me when I was in London; and I should be happy to have an opportunity of serving you on any occasion which could testify with how much respect I remain,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

DANIEL ELZEVIR.

P. S.—I forgot to mention, Sir, that neither Mr. Skinner nor myself have had any concern in what has been lately published, of the said Milton's;* and that I never heard of it till Mr. Skinner mentioned it to me here. He had, indeed, written to me before, that a certain bookseller of London had obtained some letters from some person who had purloined them from the late Milton, but neither he nor myself have any connection with that impression, which I request you will be assured of.

* See i. 174. *Note* ‡

Copy of a letter from Daniel Elzevir, printer at Amsterdam, to Mr. Daniel Skinner, sen. merchant in London, dated February 19th, 1676-7, relative to Milton's manuscripts.

" MONSIEUR, D'Amsterdam, le 19me Febvrier 1677.

" L'HONNEUR de la vostre du 2mo de ce mois m'a esté bien rendue. Il est très vray que j'ay receu par Symon Heere les deux Manuscripts de Milton, à scavoir ses œuvres en Théologie, et ses Lettres " Ad Principes," qui sont encore au mesme estat que je les ay receus, n'yant pas trouvé à propos de les imprimer. Vous scaurez, sans doubte, que Monsieur, votre fils, m'a fait l'honneur de me venir voir, qui fut fort satisfait quand il vit que je n'avois pas fait imprimer les dites œuvres, et me pria de les envoyer par la première commodité à Nimwege à Monsieur le Secretaire de l'Ambassade; mais comme il commença à geler devant que j'ay pu poursuivre ses ordres, et ayant depuis receu ordre de vostre dit fils, de Paris, de vous les envoyer par la première commodité de navires: — laquelle commission je ne manqueray pas d'effectuer, et les donneray, bien empacquetéz, à Jacob Hendrix, qui sera le premier qui partira d'icy pour vostre ville. J'ay esté bien mary de ne pouvoir plutost executer ses Ordres; mais la gelée, qui a duré icy plus de 3 mois, à empesché que les Navires n'ont pu parter. A la demande de Monsieur votre fils j'ay escrit une lettre à Monsieur Joseph Williamson, Secretaire d'Estat, par la quelle j'ay asseuré le dit Seigneur que les dits Livres estoient encore entre mes mains; que je n'avois nul dessein de les imprimer, et que Monsr vostre fils les remettroit entre ses mains, &c. Ainsy, Monsieur, que vous n'avez nul sujet de vous mettr'en peine de ce costé-la; car, en premier lieu je suis

sure que Monsieur vostre fils n'a nulle intention de les faire imprimer; mais, au contraire, de les mettre entre les mains du Seigneur cy dessus nommé; et que, de mon costé, je ne les voudrois pas imprimer quand on me seroit present de 1000 Livres sterling, pour diverses raisons. Je vous prie de croire, Monsieur, que les dits Livres vous seront envoyez par Jacob Hendrixen, et vous seront addresséz en son temps. Je vous offre mon service, et suis, de tout mon cœur. Monsieur,

"Votre très humble Serviteur,

"DANIEL ELZEVIR."

(Superscribed)

"For Mr. Samuel Skynner, Marchand, at his House in Cruchet Fryers,* at London."

TRANSLATION.

SIR, Amsterdam, February 19, 1676-7.

I HAVE the honour of yours of the 2nd instant, and have punctually received, by Symon Heere, Milton's two manuscripts, viz. his Treatises on Theology, and his Letters "Ad Principes." These remain just in the state received, not having found a proper time to print them.

You, doubtless, know that your son has honoured me with a visit, when he was highly gratified to find that I had not printed those works, which he requested me to send by the first opportunity to the Secretary of the Embassy at Nimeguen. But, the frost having set in before I could execute your son's orders, I have since received orders from him at Paris to send them to you by the first ship.

These orders I shall not delay to execute, committing the manuscripts, safely packed, to the care of Jacob Hendrix, whose vessel will be the first to sail for your city.

* Perhaps the locality to which Pepys has referred, i. 246.

I have regretted to leave your son's orders so long unexecuted, from the endurance of the frost, which, for more than three months, has interrupted all navigation. In the mean time, by your son's directions, I have written to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, assuring him that the books were still in my possession, but with no design to print them, and that your son had reclaimed them.

Thus, Sir, you have no cause of anxiety on this subject. In the first place, I am sure that your son had no intention of printing the manuscripts, but, on the contrary, to put them into the hands of the lord (knight) before mentioned; and that, on my part, I would not, for divers reasons, print them to gain 1000*l.* sterling.

Be assured, Sir, that the books shall be sent to you by Jacob Hendrixen, and that you will have timely advice.

I present to you my service, and am, with my whole heart,

Sir,

Your very humble servant,

DANIEL ELZEVIR.

After all the humiliations to which Daniel Skinner is here found to have submitted, it appears highly probable that he never joined, or was soon detached from, the embassy at Nimeguen. This I conjecture from the following letter, found by "Mr. Leman, of the State-Paper Office." It was discovered in a bundle of papers, containing informations and examinations taken in 1677, and is thus given by Dr. Sumner: —

"SIR, Paris, March 15, '77.

"I HAVE delivered Dr. Barrow's letter to Mr. Skinner, before witness, as you desired. I found him much surprised, and yet, at the same time, slighting any constraining orders from the Superior of his College, or any benefit

he expected thence. But as to Milton's Works, he intended to have printed, (though he saith that part which he had in MSS. are no way to be objected against, either with regard to royalty and government,) he has desisted from the causing them to be printed, having left them in Holland, and that he intends, notwithstanding the College summons, to go for Italy this summer. This is all I can say in that affair. You have herein all our news.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most faithful obedient servant,

"W. PERWICH."

"For Wm. Bridgman, Esq. Secretary to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Secretary Williamson, at Court."

Dr. Sumner adds, that if Daniel Skinner "was the Skinner mentioned in Perwich's letter, it may be supposed that his contumacious absence retarded his rise in the College, and that his continuance in his fellowship, and his subsequent election as a major-fellow, are only to be ascribed to the leniency of the Society."—*Prel. Obs.* p. xi.—xiv.

No. III.*

Thompson's Advertisement, in his *Intelligencer*, May 20, 1681, concerning Scott.

"The last week, one Colonel John Scott took an occasion to kill one John Butler, a hackney-coachman, at the Horse-shoe, on Tower Hill, without any other provocation ('tis said) but refusing to carry him, and another gentleman pertaining to the law, from thence to Temple Bar, for 1s. 6d.

"Amongst the many pranks he hath played, in other

* See i. 195. 205. 300.

countries 'tis believed this is one of the very worst. He is a very great vindicator of the Salamanca Doctor.*

" He is a lusty tall man, squint-eyed, thin-faced, wears a peruke sometimes, and has a very h—— look. All good people would do well, if they can, to apprehend him, that he may be brought to justice."

Another advertisement of Thompson's,† concerning the said Scott.

" In our last, we gave you an account how valiantly Colonel Scott killed Butler, the coachman. This is that Scott that cheated the States of Holland of 7000*l.* and was hang'd in effigie at the Hague in 1672. Afterwards, he went to Paris, and pretended to a person of quallity belonging to that court that he had got several sea-cards,‡ by which he could shew them how to burn all his Majesty's navy in their harbours; but being discovered to be a cheat, was forced to fly.

" Since the discovery of the Popish Plot, he came into England, and pretended he had those sea-cards of Sir Anthony Deane and Mr. Pepys, and that they would have the ships burnt by the French King, and imploy'd him for that purpose. He is also the person that robbed himself in Flanders, to get contribucōn from the priests and convents. He has play'd a thousand pranks more, and hath been of Sheriff B——'s § Club lately, and great with all the Popish evidences, plot-drivers, and discoverers."

* *Sangrado.* See *Gil Blas.*

† Intelligencer, May 23, 1681.

‡ " *Sea-Chart,* or *Chart-Hydrographic,* a geographical description of coasts, with the true distances, heights, courses or winds leading to them. It is also called a Plot."—*World of Words.*

§ Probably, Slingsby Bethel, who, with Henry Cornish, had been elected sheriff, June 24, 1680.

No. IV.*

In pursuance of his project, the highly accomplished author of the "Advice" would institute "an office of common address, as recommended by Master Hartlib,† where men may know what is already done, what is doing, and what is intended, that, by such a general communication, and mutual assistance, the wits and endeavours of the world may be no longer as scattered firebrands, soon quenched for want of union; whereas, layed together, they would yield a comfortable light and heat."

He proposes "perusing books, and taking notice of mechanical inventions," that "out of all, one book or great work may be made, though consisting of many volumes;" adding, that "the most artificial Indices, Tables, or other helps for the readily finding and well understanding all things contained in these books, must be contrived and put in practice."

The author "thus having taken the height whereunto arts and sciences are already come," recommends that "the ablest men in every faculty be engaged," that "there may never want men acquainted with the whole design, and able to carry it on with the help of others, admitted under them. Now," he adds, "we shall think of whetting our tools, and preparing sharp instruments for this hard work, by delivering our thoughts concerning education."

These *thoughts*, as discovering the prospective genius of the author, and as a respect due to such a genuine patriot, or rather an enlarged philanthropist, I shall now give nearly entire.

* See i. 324. † Of whom, see vol. i. p. 19. *note.*

He would erect " *Ergastula Literaria*, Literary Workhouses, where children may be taught as well to do something towards their living, as to read and write. That the business of education be not as now (1648) committed to the unworthiest men, but seriously studied by the best and ablest.

" All children, above seven years old," he would have " presented to this kind of education, none excluded by the poverty and unability of their parents; for hereby it hath come to pass, that many are now holding the plough, which might have been made fit to steer the state. Wherefore," he adds, " let such poor children be employed on works (whereby they may earn their living) equal to their strength and understanding, and such as they may perform as well as elder and abler persons, *viz.* attending engines, &c. And if they cannot get their whole living, and their parents can contribute nothing to make it up, let them stay somewhat longer in the workhouse.

" That, since few children have need of reading, before they can be acquainted with the things they read of, or writing, before their thoughts are worth recording, or they are able to put them into form, (which we call inditing,) much less of learning languages, when there be books enough for present use in their mother-tongue, our opinion is, that those things being withal above their capacity, (as to be attained by judgment, which is weakest in children,) be deferred awhile, and others more needful, and attainable by the help of memory, (either most strong, or unpreoccupied in children,) be studied before them. We wish, therefore, that the *educands* be taught to observe and remember all sensible objects and actions, whether natural or artificial, which the *educators* must on all occasions expound to them.

" That they use such exercises in work, or for recre-

ation, as tend to the health, agility, and strength of their bodies.

"That they be taught to read by much more compendious means than are in common use, a thing very easy and feasible.

"That they be taught to write, not only according to our common way, but also swiftly, and in real characters; as likewise the dextrous use of the instruments for writing many copies of the same thing at once.*

"That the *artificial memory* be thought upon. If the precepts thereof be not too far above children's capacities, we conceive it not improper for them also to learn that.

"That the arts of drawing and design be, in no case, omitted, to what course of life soever those children are to be applied, since their use for expressing the conceptions of the mind, seems (at least, to us) little inferior to writing, and, in many cases, performeth what by words is impossible.

"That the elements of arithmetic and geometry be studied by all, being not only of great and frequent use in all human affairs, but also sure guides and helps to reason, and especial remedies for a volatile and unsteady mind.

"That effectual courses be taken to try the abilities of

* This *instrument*, which unaccountably failed in its practical application, was thus described by the inventor, in the *Advertisement* prefixed to his *Advice*.

"An instrument of small bulk and price, easily made, and very durable, whereby any man, even at the first sight and handling, may write two resembling copies of the same thing at once, as serviceably and as fast as by the ordinary way, of what nature, or in what character, or what matter soever." See Ward's "Lives of the Professors of Gresham College," (1740,) p. 218. *note*.

Just now, (1840,) there has been offered to the public, at a very small charge, compared with its obvious utility, "the improved manifold writer," designed (without mentioning Sir W. Petty,) to accomplish all that (in 1648) he had proposed to effect.

the bodies and minds of children, their strength of memory, the inclination of their affections, either to vice or virtue, and to which in particular, withal to alter what is bad, and increase and improve what is good; applying all, good or bad, to the least inconvenience and most advantage.

"That such as need to learn foreign languages, (the use whereof would be much lessened were the real and common characters brought into practice,) may be taught them by ways uncomparably more easy than are now usual.*

"That no ignoble, unnecessary, or condemned part of learning be taught in those houses of education; so that if any man vainly fall upon them, he only may be blamed.

"That such as have any natural ability, and fitness to music, be encouraged and instructed therein."

To such advantages of general education, the author proposed that the children of the poorest class in society might have an undisputed access; and that "all children, though of the highest rank, be taught in their minority some *gentile* manufacture," naming a great variety of attainments, and concluding the list with "anatomy, making skeletons, and excarnating bowels;" also, "mariners' compasses, globes, and other magnetic devices." The author subjoins the following reasons why the children of fortune should be thus early trained to ingenious industry.

"1. They shall be less subject to be cozened by artificers.

"2. They will become more industrious in general.

"3. They will certainly bring to pass most excellent

* See Bishop Sprat's Life of Cowley, and an American "Memoir of Roger Williams, Founder of the State of Rhode Island."

works, being, as gentlemen, ambitious to excel ordinary workmen.

"4. Being able themselves to make experiments, they may do it with less charge, and more care, than others for them.

"5. When such as are rich and able are also willing to make luciferous experiments, the *Resp. Artium* will be much advanced.

"6. It may engage them to be *Macænates*, and patrons of arts.

"7. It will keep them from worse occasions of spending their time and estates.

"8. As it will be a great ornament in prosperity, so it will be a great refuge in adversity and common calamity."

"As for what remains of education," the author "cannot but hope that those" who "should make it their trade, will supply it, and render the idea thereof much more perfect." He thus proceeds:

"We have already recommended the study of the elements of Arithmetic and Geometry to all; but, being the best-grounded parts of speculative knowledge, and of so vast use in all practical arts, we cannot but commend deeper inquiries. And although the way of advancing them in particular may be drawn from what we have already delivered, concerning the advancement of learning in general; yet, for more explicit understanding our meaning, herein we refer to Master Pell's most excellent idea thereof,* written to Master Hartlib."

* "His *Idea Matheseos*, which he had addressed to Mr. Hartlib, who, 1639, had sent it to Des Cartes and Mersennas. It was printed, 1650, at London, in 12mo, in English, with the title of 'An Idea of Mathematics,' at the end of Mr. John Durie's 'Reformed Library-Keeper.'"

Proceeding to the second and highly important part of his subject, the author would now provide " for the advancement of all mechanical arts and manufactures," by the erection of " a *Gymnasium Mechanicum*, or a College of Tradesmen." To " the prime, most ingenious workman of every trade " he would assign " a handsome dwelling rent-free." Thus " the very ablest mechanics may " be expected at length " to desire a fellowship in this college," and supply " the most effectual opportunities for writing in perfection a History of Trades. What experiments," he adds, " would all those operations afford to active and philosophical heads, out of which to extract that interpretation of Nature, whereof there is so little, and that so bad, yet extant in the world.

" Within the walls of this *Gymnasium*, or college, should be a *Nosocomium Academicum*, according to the most exact and perfect idea thereof; a complete *Theatrum Botanicum*, stalls and cages for all strange beasts and birds, with ponds and conservatories for all exotic fishes.

" Here, all animals, capable thereof, should be made fit for some kind of labour and employment, that they may be of use as well living as dead. Here should be a repository of all kinds of rarities, natural and artificial, pieces of antiquity, models of all great and noble engines, with designs and platforms of gardens and buildings, the most artificial fountains and water-works, a library of select books, an astronomical Observatory for celestial bodies and meteors, large pieces of ground for several experiments of agriculture, galleries of the rarest paintings and statues, with the fairest globes, and geographical maps of the best descriptions; to become, as far as possible, the epitome or abstract of the whole world."

The author opines " that a man conversant within those walls would certainly prove a greater scholar than the

walking libraries, (so called,) though he could neither read nor write. Even "a child in this college," (if encouraged to make observations,) "would afterwards understand easily all good books, and smell out the fopperies of bad ones." Our author, therefore, specially desires, "that a society be instituted" who would be "as careful to advance arts," in such a college, "as the Jesuits are to propagate their religion."

Adverting now to "health, the most desirable of all earthly blessings," without which, "all those dainties" here provided to recreate the inquiring mind, could be but partially enjoyed, it is proposed that in "the *Nosocomium* there be a mathematician for steward, a physician, chirurgeon, and apothecary." As to the steward, the recommendation will, I apprehend, be now classed among "the follies of the wise,"—that "he be skilled in the best rules of judicial astrology." With the help of such rules, however, he is expected "to calculate the events of diseases, and prognosticate of the weather; that what is good in that faculty be applied to good uses, and the rest exploded." He should journalize "all notable changes of weather, and fertility of seasons, take notice of the several diseases which in each year have infested each species of animals, and what insects have most abounded," comparing the whole, and also "the epidemical diseases befalling man, with the aspects of the celestial bodies, and so examine the precepts delivered by the professors of that art."

Turning from these "follies of the wise," for which Petty might have quoted Mead and Boyle as apologists, he suggests that "the physician must be a philosopher, skilled at large in the phenomena of Nature. He must understand Greek, be well read in good authors, and seen in the practice of all the ministrant parts of physic." He is expected, "twice every day, deliberately to visit and

examine all the sick, prescribe convenient medicines, and dictate, in Latin, the history of their several diseases to the vice-physician attending him." As to "patients in outward griefs," the physician should see their wounds "opened and dressed every now and then, that himself and the chirurgeon may have the same intention and scope in their practice."

On an admission to the *Nosocomium*, "the master-chirurgeon shall dress every patient belonging to his care, the first time himself, in the presence of him to whom he shall afterwards commit the cure, and, as it were, read him a lecture thereon." He is also to "make experiments by dissecting sundry sorts of animals," of which "the mate," under his directions, is to "make skeletons."

"The master-apothecary" must be a most exquisite botanist. "He shall take care of the garden, that store of all useful plants be kept therein, and also that such as are for beauty or rarity be not wanting. He shall give order for all experiments of grafting, transplanting, meliorating the tastes, smells, &c. of plants. He shall write of the sensile and evident qualities of all drugs, and set down all the experiments, solitary or in concert, that he meeteth with in mixing or preparing them.

"The nurses," unlike the nurse of the poet,

> "Hir'd to watch the sick,
> Whom, snoring, she disturbs,"

"shall be always at hand in the hospital, to help the sick, that, by reason of their absence, they may not be put to strain and offend themselves by often and loud crying and calling."

The author having now described, "after the fashion," the "societies and institutions most fit for the advancement of real learning, and, among the rest, of the *Ergastulum Literarium*, for the education of children," describes

such books "as, in those schools, well studied and expounded, would lay, in the scholars, a very firm foundation of learning."

His recommendation is, however, very short, though comprehensive. "Besides books of collection formerly mentioned, and Master Pell's three mathematical treatises," the author recommends "compiling a work," which he would entitle *Vellus Aureum*, [golden fleece,] *sive Facultatum Luciferarum Descriptio Magna.* Therein, all practised ways of subsistence, and whereby men raise their fortunes, may be, at large, declared."

He proposes, "as the most pleasant and profitable, that the history of arts and manufactures be first undertaken;" warning the compiler against "too rude and cozening workmen," and referring him to "the most judicious and candid of each respective profession."

This work the author admits to be the labour of a "whole life;" he would, therefore, have "the compiler as young, as sufficient abilities would permit." He recommends "a preface to the work, to teach men how to make the most of experiments, and to record the successes, whether according to hopes or no, all being equally *luciferous*, though not all equally *lucriferous*." Among the advantages to be derived to the public from the compilation of this *Vellus Aureum*, the ingenious and public-spirited projector includes the following:—

"There would not then be, in divinity, so many unworthy *fustian* preachers; in the law, so many *petty-foggers;* in physic, so many *quack-salvers;* in country schools, so many *grammaticasters;* in gentlemen's houses, so many lazy serving-men, when every man might learn to live otherwise in more plenty and honour: for all men, desirous to take pains, might, by this book, survey the

ways of subsistence, and out of them choose one that best suits with his genius and abilities.

" Scholars, now disesteemed for their poverty, (whatever other things commend them,) and unable, for want of livelihood, to perfect anything, even in their own way, would quickly help themselves, by opening treasures with the key of *lucriferous* inventions.

" Boys, instead of reading hard Hebrew words in the Bible, (where they either trample on, or play with mysteries,) or, parrot-like, repeating heteroclitous nouns and verbs, might read and hear the history of faculties expounded; so that before they be bound apprentices to any trade, they foreknow its good and bad, what will and strength they have to it, and not spend seven years in repenting and in swimming against the stream of their inclinations."

Under these impressions of the then inadequate provision for a just and liberal national education, the author, for " a rabble of words," would substitute " the study of things," on which he thus proceeds.

" We see children [boys] to delight in drums, pipes, fiddles, guns made of elder-sticks and bellows'-noses, piped keys, &c. in painting flags and ensigns with elder-berries and corn-poppy, making ships with paper, and setting even nutshells a-swimming, handling workmen's tools soon as they turn their backs, and trying to work themselves; fishing, fowling, hunting, setting springes and traps for birds and other animals, making pictures in their writing-books, making tops, gigs, and whirligigs, quilting balls, practising divers juggling tricks upon cards, &c. with a million more besides.

" For the females, they will be making pies with clay, making their babies' clothes, and dressing them therewith.

They will, indeed, imitate all the talk and actions which they observe in their mother and her gossips. By all which it is evident," adds this accurate and philosophical observer of familiar scenes, " that children do most naturally delight in *things*, and are most capable of learning them, having quick senses to receive, and unpreoccupied memories to retain them."

As to " other things whereunto they are set," in the progress of education, the author remarks that children " are altogether unfit, for want of judgment, and also for want of will." He adduces " the difficulty in keeping them at school, and the punishment they will endure rather than be altogether debarred from the pleasure which they take in *things*."

The work proposed, the author proceeds to regard as " an help to eloquence," by supplying " similitudes, metaphors, allusions, and other graces of discourse." The following are his instances:

" Divines, having so large a book of God's works, added to that of his word, may, from both, more clearly deduce the wisdom, goodness, and power of the Almighty.

" Physicians, observing the use of all drugs and operations in the production of artificials, may, with success, transfer them to better uses in their art.

" Lawyers, when they plead concerning trades and manufactures, would know better what to say on such occasions."

The author now recommends as " the next book," according to " Lord Verulam's most excellent specimen," a " History of Nature," free, remarking that " the history of trades is also a history of Nature, but of Nature vexed and disturbed.

Thus concludes, somewhat abruptly, the *Advice*, deservedly to be admired, especially when classed, as it must be, among the learned author's *juvenilia*. Nor, while describing it to the best of my ability, have I been able to repress a very gratifying reflection. The descendant of Sir William Petty, amidst the worthy deeds by which he has done honour to the British peerage, has been and is sedulously engaged, through evil and through good report, without distinction of climate, colour, or condition, to extend the blessing of general education, almost two centuries since his illustrious ancestor rested from his labours. *Uno avulso, non deficit alter.*

No. V.*

The following letter to Sir Robert Southwell, which I have found among the papers of Pepys, while it serves to show how he had designed to occupy the leisure of his old age, may suitably follow the *paper* of Sir William Petty, their mutual friend and correspondent.

SIR WILLIAM PETTY TO SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

DEAR COUSIN, Dublin, 20th August, 1681.

ONCE more pay the postage of four sheets. By the last you saw the *quantum* of my damage; by this, you shall the *quo-modo*, and, consequently, the injury. Oh! that I could get somebody to read my papers!

There is about this town a good man writing against atheism;† and, in particular, at this time, answering cavils

* See ii. 91.

† Described in *Political Arithmetic* as "a worthy divine writing against some sceptics."—*Tracts*, (1769,) p. 109.

against the resurrection. They say that the whole globe of the earth will not afford sufficient matter to the bodies that must rise, much less will the surface thereof afford footing to all those bodies. Now, the assistances I have given this good man are,

1. Supposing the people in England, Scotland, and Ireland to be about nine millions; those in Holland and Zealand, about one million; and in France, sixteen; I say, that by comparing the rest of the world therewith, there are but between three and four hundred millions of souls now living.

2. On this, and Graunt's Observations,* I ascertain the number that have died since the creation, and find that Munster would afford them all graves; and the Mangerton, bodies, or the equivalent, in weight of earth.

Having thus helped my friend, I took occasion to proceed, viz.

1. I find that the world, being 5630 years old, and Adam and Eve doubling but every two hundred years, (as Graunt also says,) there must be now three hundred and sixteen millions on the earth, which answers admirably, and is a brave argument against Scripture-scoffers and præ-Adamites.

Nevertheless, on examination of our friend Graunt's positions,

2dly, I find people double very differently in every century of the world; and have, as I think, rectified his doctrine, by making many numbers in continual proportion.

3rdly, I further find that the world, at a medium, is at this day not much better peopled than our wretched baronies in Kerry; nor above one-tenth part so well as our

* "On Bills of Mortality." (1665.)

poor Ireland is;* nor above one-hundredth part so well as Holland, which is over-peopled.

4thly, I find that in the next fourteen hundred years the world, doubling its people in my corrected proportion, must be over-peopled; and then there must be great wars and slaughters, and the strong must destroy the weak, or the world must, of necessity, come to an end.

5thly, I find, by looking far back upon the paucity of people in the Assyrian, Persian, and other first monarchies, how easy a thing it was for a few resolute fellows to conquer the world, as then it was; and that (whatever the King of France may think) the universal or great monarchy does and will grow every century more and more difficult by the course of Nature.

6thly, I conclude that as people double faster now than they did in former ages, so the rents of lands must also rise proportionably, and the number of years' purchase

* Of which Sir W. Petty had thus written in "The Political Anatomy of Ireland, 1676."

"The number of the people in Ireland is about 1,100,000, viz. 300,000 English, Scotch, and Welsh Protestants, and 800,000 papists; whereof one-fourth are children unfit for labour, and about 75,000 of the remainder are, by reason of their quality and estates, above the necessity of corporeal labour; so as there remains 750,000 labouring men and women, 500,000 whereof do perform the present work of the nation.

"The said 1,100,000 people do live in about 200,000 families or houses, whereof but about 16,000 have more than one chimney in each; and about 24,000 which have but one. All the other houses, being 160,000, are wretched nasty cabins, without chimney, window, or door-shut, even worse than those of the savage Americans, and wholly unfit for making merchantable butter, cheese, or the manufactures of woollen, linen, or leather.

"The houses within the city and liberties of Dublin are under 5000, viz. in the city, 1150; and the alehouses within the same, about 1200, And it seems, that in other corporations and country-towns the proportion of alehouses is yet greater than in Dublin, viz. about one-third of the whole."—*Tracts*, pp. 378, 9.

also, wherefore let us get possession of what the affidavit says, is kept from us.

Thus, dear cousin, (having ended where I begun,)
I am still yours,

WM. PETTY.

No. VI.*

A letter from HUBARD CRAN, to a Minister of the Elector of Brandenburgh.†

TRANSLATION.

MY LORD, Torbay, November 5-15, 1688.

HIS Highness having, by working day and night, put the fleet and ships lying before Helvoet-Sluys again into a posture for transportation, and the wind, on the 10th instant, coming easterly, he gave me orders, late that night, to acquaint Lieutenant-Admiral-General Herbert that he should make the sign by break of day, to weigh anchor and set sail. Whereupon the 11th, by break of day, the blue flag was put out; but it being after dinner before they were clear, the frigate in which the Prince was himself was the first under sail, and that got out; upon which, the Lieutenant-Admiral-General followed with the whole fleet, and most of the ships for transportation got out likewise that night.

His Highness lay and drove the whole night southward, as he did likewise the day following the 12th, for that he was not certain that all the vessels were yet come

* See ii. 198.

† "Giving him an account of the Prince's voyage from Holland to Torbay, and there landing, with a list of his fleet, and a plan of his land-army and camp."—S. P.

out. The 13th, the wind continued easterly, and, about ten o'clock, we saw the North Foreland. About noon, with clear weather, we passed the Head-lands, and entered the Channel.

His Highness made a signal for the whole fleet to sail in rank and order: on which his Highness, with the frigates with him, led the van; the rear-admiral, Evertren, was on the right; the Admiral Allemonde on the left, and the Lieutenant-Admiral-General Herbert in the rear: so that the ships and vessels, with the militia, &c. (400 strong) were always in the middle, in their range and order, as might be easily seen both from the English and French shores.

The 14th, sailing in the same order, about nine o'clock we got sight of the Isle of Wight, the same bearing N.W. and by N. about four miles off; and after consultation with the Sieur Bentink, the Lord Russell, and Admiral Evertren, and having advised with some English pilots, it was resolved, seeing the easterly wind continued, according to wish, to pass by the said island. We continued our course towards the river Exmouth, between Portland and the Start, the Lieutenant-Admiral-General, in the mean time, ordering the Captain Vanderseals to cruise near the island, and to give notice to such ships as might lag behind, to follow to Exmouth.

That afternoon, a letter was sent to the Lieutenant-Admiral-General, to let him know that his Highness was resolved to land at the same time at Dartmouth and in Torbay. Towards evening we saw the point of Portland, and drove most of the night following. The 15th, in the morning, the wind came southerly, being thick weather. About nine it cleared up: the Start bore W. by S. and Torbay N.W. four miles from us. His Highness was obliged to pass by it, and to stand with the whole fleet

into Torbay, where, about noon, he came to an anchor, and immediately made the signal to land, which was, a red flag under his ordinary flag. On which, the landing was begun with great diligence and order, the foot landing first, and afterwards the artillery and cavalry, the Lieutenant-Admiral-General Herbert being in the mean time under sail, without the Bay, with the men-of-war and fireships to cover the transports against any attack of the enemy, and to secure the troops in landing.

I know how greatly his Electoral Serenity is concerned in the success of this glorious landing, and yourself, who have the ministry under him, and therefore thought it would not be unacceptable to you, that I acquainted you with these few particulars in acknowledgment of your many favours. I send you herewith the divisions of the fleet, and the plan how the troops are now on shore.

From on board the ship Leyden, 16th November, in the morning, under sail towards Torbay.

H. Cran.

No. VII.*

THE KING TO THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE.†

Whitehall, November 1687.

Monsieur d'Albeville‡ having told me you were desirous to know the chief motives of my conversion, I

* See ii. 201.

† Among the papers which Pepys had preserved to illustrate (as he appears to have designed) the period of the Revolution, this interesting letter has deservedly a place. Though in terms exclusively theological, yet the influence of the King's religious profession on his fortunes and his fate, as a British sovereign, may serve to render it highly political.

‡ See *supra*, p. 162, *ad fin.*

have sent you as many particulars as my leisure will permit.

I must first tell you I was bred a strict Church-of-England-man by Dr. Stuart, to whom the King my father gave particular instructions to do so. And I was so zealous that way, that when the Queen my mother designed to bring up my brother, the Duke of Gloucester, a Catholic, I, preserving still the respect due to her, did my part to keep him steady to his first principles; and, as young people often do, I made it a point of honour to stick to what we had been educated in, without examining whether we were right or wrong. Thus I did then, which shows how I stood affected in point of religion; and I can say, that in all the time I was beyond sea no Catholics said anything to me to persuade me to change my religion; and so I continued for the most part I was abroad, without troubling myself about those concerns.

The first thought that came into my head of anything of that kind which moved me to a more serious consideration was, the great devotion I found among so many of the Catholics of all sorts whenever I had been among them, the great helps they had towards it, and that I found every day some one or other of my acquaintance, of that persuasion, leave off their loose way of living, and live as good Christians ought to do, though many of these continued still in the world. When I found this, and observed their decent way of serving God, their churches being so well adorned, and the great charities they did, it made me begin to have a better opinion of their religion, and moved me to inquire more narrowly into it; and then I soon found that both they and their religion had been very much misrepresented: which made me begin to compare them and the Reformed churches together. When I had done this, I considered the reasons which were given

by the several reformers for their separation, and more particularly by the Church of England men. I read over again the histories of those reigns in which it happened, written in the chronicles.

I perused very carefully the History of the Reformation written by Dr. Heylin, and the Preface of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Policy. Which having done, I discoursed with men of that persuasion (I mean of the Church of England) upon the same subject, and found no satisfactory reasons for what they had done. I then begun to inquire into the reasons given by the Catholics for the infallibility of their church, which I found could not be denied them without shaking the very fundamentals of Christianity. And being once satisfied in that point, which is the chief to be considered on, all the rest falls in of course.

Let any ingenuous person, without being prepossessed, read what our Saviour said to St. Peter by name, Matthew, xvi chapter, verses 18 and 19, and to his Apostles in general, and it will manifestly appear, that he left an Infallible Church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. Pursuing this point, I concluded that the Apostles, and the whole congregation of the faithful assembled at Jerusalem, were all most manifestly of that opinion, otherwise they would not have used that phrase, (Acts xv. verse 28,) *for it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us*, in the decree they made at that meeting. Next, I inquired what authority there was, even for the Scripture itself, and found, upon strict examination, that it was declared canonical by the Church, some books offered being laid aside as not so, and only those allowed which were approved by the same. Now, none can be thought to be such proper interpreters of Scripture as those who declared the certainty of it.

Besides, whether it is not likelier, reasonably speaking,

that the church which hath had a constant succession from the very Apostles' time to this day, should be in the right, or private men, who, upon pretence of reformation, broached new opinions, and had their heads fuller of temporal than spiritual concerns, as Luther, Calvin, and the reformers here in England?

It would be too long for this paper, to make this out, though it were easy to do it, and it would satisfy any ingenuous person that what they did was not inspired into them by the Holy Ghost. For, instead of endeavouring to reform manners, and to increase devotion, they did quite the contrary, by opening a way to liberty, indulging to men's appetites, lessening the reverence which is due to God in the manner of his worship, and letting Christianity loose, I may say, by encouraging every one to believe he is a competent judge of the Scripture, and, consequently, may interpret it according to his own fancy. 'Tis this that hath very much shaken the foundations of Christianity, and hath let in so many sects and dangerous opinions, and hath made Socinians and latitudinarians increase so much among us here in England.

Christianity, at first, gained credit by miracles and the powerful preaching of the Apostles. The blood of the Martyrs, the seed of the Church, rendered her most fruitful and glorious, by the wonderful examples of Christian fortitude. Lastly, an humble submission hath preserved it ever since; for, without submission, a man cannot be so much as a Christian. It was that consideration which chiefly made me embrace the communion of the Church of Rome, there being none that do, or can pretend to infallibility, but she. For there must be an infallible Church, or else what our Saviour said is not so, and the gates of hell must prevail. The practice of the Church of England confirmed me in this belief, having acted ever since

the Reformation as if they believed themselves infallible, though they will not own it. Otherwise, why have they been so severe against all dissenters from her, ever since the beginning of the Reformation, and made such severe laws against them, which, from time to time, have been more severely put in execution than is generally known, and as well against Protestant as against Popish dissenters.

Now, I would willingly know how the Church of England can find fault with those who have fallen from her, when she herself showed them the way, by quitting the communion of the Catholic Church, of which she herself was a member, having no more right to do it than any one county of England to separate itself from the rest, and govern itself by laws different from those established over the whole kingdom. To say more on this subject would exceed the bounds of a letter; and if to what I have here set down the King my brother's and the late Duchess's Papers * be added, I think it is sufficient, if not to convince an unbiassed judgment, at least to create a more favourable opinion of the Catholic cause.

A true copy of my letter to my daughter, the Princess of Orange, 1687. J. R.†

* These *papers* are now before me, as they were annexed, in 1741, to the "Fifty Reasons" which induced "Prince Anthony Ulric to abjure Lutheranism."

At the close of the first paper, is the following attestation: "This is a true copy of a paper I found in the late King my brother's strong-box, written in his own hand.—JAMES R."

The second paper thus concludes: "This is a true copy of a paper written by the late King my brother, in his own hand, which I found in his closet.—JAMES R."

The third paper, dated St. James's, August 20, 1670, is entitled, "A Copy of a Paper written by the late Duchess of York."

† This last is writ in the King's own hand; and by him was put into mine, December 22, 1687, to read, telling me he had never shown it to

MARQUIS D'ALBEVILLE TO THE KING.*

SIR, Hague, October 30, '88.

THE expresses I sent your Majesty, by divers ways, are detained on the frontier, the packet-boats stopped, and all passages whatsoever by sea or land, by a very strict order from the Prince of Orange.

He set sail yesterday, at nine of the clock at night.

De Nassau, General of the Horse; Count de Solecnes, Colonel of his Foot-guards. Tromp refused to go. Mareshal de Schomberg is embarked.

Burnet is embarked with the Princess. Steward and Fergison and Wildman are embarked with my Lord Macclesfield. All the rebels and traitors of the old and new stamp go with them.

Her Royal Highness will not be seen, till she hears out of England from the Prince. Fagel assures they have a paper signed by five hundred and seventy of the chiefest bishops, nobility and gentry of England, desiring the Prince's coming over; and that they would take other measures if he did not.

My Lord Lorne, Argyle's eldest son, is embarked.

anybody but to me, saying that he did put it into the hands of a Father or two to overlook and look it over. But they brought it to him again without any the least alteration, telling him it run most naturally coming just as it was, and like a letter of a father; and so he sent it, without the least alteration, just as he had wrote it.

"*Memorandum*, that he put it into my hand to read, while he went to chapel. In which time I took a copy of it myself at Mr. Bridgman's office, and gave the King back his original in the way as he came from chapel, asking me how I liked it? Telling me again, as before, that it was just as it came from himself, without any alteration, &c. from any other hand."—MS.

* "About the proceedings of the Prince of Orange and his fleet before and after the late storm."—MS.

If men come in apace, as they doubt not they will, it is resolved to form two armies, the Prince one, and Schomberg the other. They make no question that all Scotland will declare presently.

It is certain the Spanish envoy had prayers in his chapel for the success of the Prince of Orange's design. If your Majesty take notice of it, they will fly in my face. I have already sent word to your Majesty how the Prince of Orange refused me twice before his departure; whereof all the Hague took notice. So unsatisfied he seemed to be with your Majesty's late proclamation, thus he begins his expedition with affronting your Majesty. If her Royal Highness was to be seen, I doubt if she would see me, since the Prince would not. She would not see me, when I brought the last letters to her, but sent to me to send them to her.

There is not in hell a wickeder crew than most of the English and Scotch that go over.

This enclosed memorial I sent some days past to my Lord Middleton, but detained, being sent by my express. I believe it was penned by Burnet.

The devils of hell could not invent more for the supposition of the Prince of Wales than he does. By what he says of witnesses, your Majesty may judge of what may be aimed at.

God will doubtless confound such wicked designs, and preserve your Majesty from such hellish persecutions, which, they doubt not, will take effect in a free Parliament.

They say some of your councillors must expect to be hanged; and since your Majesty hath not done it, it is a sign your councils are feigned, and all your Majesty's promises. Men promise that a free Parliament will do it.

I reiterate some things I wrote of already to your Majesty, because of the detention of my express.

It is strange how confident they are still that most of the nation will declare for them. The nation should take notice what a crew of rebels and traitors, and of such ill principles, accompany the Prince.

God preserve your Majesty from their hands and machinations, and give us victory over them and all the rest of your enemies.

I am, with utmost veneration,
Sir,
Your Majesty's most humble, most obedient, most dutiful subject and servant,

MARQUIS D'ALBEVILLE.

TO THE KING.

THE States will have no regard of anything desired in your Majesty's name, till they see what success the Prince will have, for they are possessed with a belief of your Majesty not being long a King; or, if you are, that a free Parliament will so order affairs, that your Majesty must do what the Prince will propose.

Her Royal Highness wept bitterly at the Prince's taking leave: she will not eat in public till she hears from him out of England.

It is by order that the chaplains no more pray for the Prince of Wales. Several Collects, where your Majesty is usually prayed for, are, of late, left out; and you are but once prayed for after the Litany. It may be, that will now be left out.

Most of the refugee officers are pitiful rogues. The English and Scotch rebels are such villains, that their constant discourse is, your Majesty must be beheaded, and the supposed Prince of Wales hanged in his swaddling-clouts.

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Most of the refugee officers are pitiful rogues. The English and Scotch rebels are such villains, that their constant discourse is, your Majesty must be beheaded, and the supposed Prince of Wales hanged in his swaddling-clouts.

Thousands of these Memorials are brought, to be dispersed over the kingdom. Sir R. G. hath three thousand for his part, to be dispersed in his county.

A great storm again, &c.

Sail northwards. The heavens appear for your Majesty, as they have done hitherto; and I hope these shall be the third enemy God shall put into your hands to condign punishment for their rebellion. The angels of Heaven attend on your Majesty, and preserve you!

This night's storm, &c. the fleet.

MARQUIS D'ALBEVILLE.

TO THE KING.

31 October [1688].

I SENT an express yesterday, &c.

There is certainly a general distaste among the seamen and soldiers at this instant, being about four of the clock in the afternoon, &c.

They all acknowledge to have lost many horses, and that there is a great murmuring among the seamen and soldiers.

The same pilots, &c.

The States-General have sent three Deputies to the Prince, to confer about setting out to sea again.

Amsterdam hath sent Deputies to her Royal Highness, to offer the town's service in the Prince's absence, and that if she wanted anything, they were ready to furnish them. She made great acknowledgments for their kindness; that the Prince and she, wherever they would be, would preserve a deep remembrance of their present favours, and those of all the province of Holland. That she received, just then, letters from the Prince, assuring to have had no loss but of some horses and a few men.

Their design was undertaken in favour of the Protestant religion and security to the monarchy, which, otherwise, would have turned into a commonwealth.

That the Prince was but too sure of success, once landed; and that two lords of the greatest riches in the land, to whom they had sent, came with the Prince a little after he had set sail.

This is all I have to say since the departure of my Secretary, who broke away yesterday, and with this I send one only to Newport.

Your Majesty will see a fine Declaration of the States-General, which they have not sent to me, but to all foreign ambassadors, except the French.

God preserve your Majesty's person, and I doubt not but that the rest will go well.

MARQUIS D'ALBEVILLE.

MARQUIS D'ALBEVILLE TO LORD SUNDERLAND.

MY LORD, Hague, 31 October, 1688.

I HAVE yours of the 12th. The Dutch fleet, fifty-two men-of-war, and making up above four hundred sail, great and small, sailed yesterday, with the wind at south-west and by south. By that time they had been two or three hours at sea, the wind came more westerly, and has blown all night and morning hard at west, which may probably have done them damage.

The Prince of Orange went to sea on board of a ship of 32 guns, commanded by Captain Van-Esse, and Marshal Schomberg with him. Admiral Bastiaenz and Vice-Admiral Allemonde are also with the fleet, and command two capital men-of-war. They pretend to land in Scotland, as they most vulgarly give out; but Burlington

Bay is the most probable place of landing in their real intentions. If the wind come southerly again, they are for the North; if northerly, or north-easterly, they will be for the West of England, and say they are equally provided for both. They have above twenty pilots, all English, among whom is a master-pilot of Hull, to whom they give a reward of sixty pounds sterling for his conduct of the fleet when they came upon the English coast.

There is one of their men-of-war stranded, and another disabled, upon this coast, in their going out.

MARQUIS D'ALBEVILLE.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO THE KING.

Off Beachey, November 5, 1688.

SINCE mine to your Majesty, I came to an anchor. Besides the three cruisers I had out before, I sent out the Sandadoes to ply to the Northward on the receipt of the abstract from Marquis d'Albeville's letter.*

The Katherine, yacht, I ordered to ply off to the eastward, and the Kitchen to the southward. The Kingfisher, ketch, was likewise sent to Ostend, with letters from Captain Rooth. But all this, as the wind stood, and as it blew so hard, availed me nothing; for, on Thursday, our frigates that were sent a-cruising were drove back, and came to an anchor in our offing, about a league and a-half to windward of us. One of them came in without a fore-topmast, and another wanted his main-topmast. It blew so very hard, that we were forced to strip all our yards and top-masts, and rode with two cables and a-half out, the wind fretting, and never veering above one point either way.

Just at break of day, on Saturday morning, we saw

* See *supra*, p. 162. *Note.* *

thirteen sail about three leagues to windward of us. The three frigates that lay without us cut, but could fetch but one fly-boat, that had lost her rudder. She was taken by the Foresight, and sent into the Downs, with the Swallow, who, it seems, sprung a leak; so that, I fear, I shall have little good from her. Major Colondely, of Colonel Batchelor's regiment, with two hundred men, were in the fly-boat; and, as I am told, the common men rejoiced when they were taken; but I do not find the officers so, though the Major pretends a great deal. I got all ready to sail with the fleet on Saturday, but the sea coming in so heavy, and the tide fell so cross, that we could not until yesterday morning. We got under sail at eight o'clock, with the wind at E.S.E. a topsail gale. About ten, Captain Clement came in to us with the Katherine, yacht, which was the first news of the Prince of Orange; for the Foresight returned not till two this afternoon, to give an account of the fly-boat.

We made all the sail we possibly could to the windward: the weather came very fine, and the wind continued at E.S.E a steady gale. About eight at night, we got about the South-Sands-head; about twelve, we got the length of the Ness, and I hauled in with the shore, lest they should be in Rye Bay: but it proved so little wind from twelve o'clock, that when the flood came, we could scarcely stem it, and got no farther than Beachey by nine this morning; but, this ebb, I hope we shall make better of it.

Thus I have given your Majesty a true account of all my proceedings, which are so far from the vain hopes I had, that I take myself for the most unfortunate man living, though I know your Majesty is too just to expect more than wind or weather will permit.

Sir, finding the Dutch sailed by Dover on Saturday

afternoon, and had a fresh gale all night, and a fair wind all yesterday, and such weather for their purpose, and so little for mine, I am in great apprehension they will be landed before I fetch there; and if their fleet lie at St. Helen's, while the rest land in Stoke Bay and Hampton Water, being so superior, as I find, both in number and quality, I am at a stand what to do: for upon calling the flag-officers and some of the old commanders, they unanimously advised me against the attacking the Dutch fleet, if all possibility of hindering their landing be over, though everybody, I assure you, Sir, I think, are so exasperated at the Prince of Orange's proceedings, that I am once more confident they will venture their lives very heartily in your Majesty's service. I consider the success of their landing and beating the only fleet, together with the destruction, as I may say, of the flower of the English fleet, or so many of them at least, here at present.

I confess, Sir, the thought of this, with the consequence it may have in London and all over England, checks my inclination of setting upon them, without your Majesty's further orders; but I resolve to endeavour to fall in with the Isle of Wight at break of day to-morrow, and to see what advantage it will please God to offer me, taking the caution not to shoot too far to windward in the night, nor to engage your fleet unreasonably, or, at least, till I see some hope of good by doing it.

Sir, I send this bearer, Captain Crofts, at Sir Roger Strickland's desire, who answers for his sobriety and diligence: his understanding and seamanship, they say, are sufficient; but I extremely want one with me that your Majesty may have confidence in, to send upon all occasions, if your Majesty pleases to think of such a one. I beg what orders your Majesty shall please to send me

may be despatched to Rye, with duplicates to Eweworth or Chichester and the Downs.

Sir, just as I was finishing this letter, Sir Roger Strickland and Sir John Berry, with Captain Davis, came all together to me, and earnestly pressed that I would not proceed to make the Dutch with the whole fleet, in consideration the squadron is at present so weak, showing what we are now wanting of, that I should have with me, At present we want twelve. They further urge that they are doubtful; that upon our appearance their whole fleet will come out, and force us to a disadvantageous battle, or disgraceful going from them; so that I have now resolved, with them, to ply off, and jog on easily, till the scouts I have, upon their advice, sent to the westward, brings an account of the enemy, and that the ships astern (or rather left behind for the present) come up, and that I know your Majesty's pleasure, which, I humbly desire, may be soon as convenient, for the case is much different now from what it would have been if I had been so happy as to have met with them before they discharged their great convoy. The places I am like to anchor at are, the Ness or the Downs, where, I believe, some of our missing ships may be.

I understand the Prince of Orange changed his measures on last coming on board, when he heard your Majesty's fleet was at the Gunfleet, for, before that, he intended for the River.

I pray God Almighty direct and protect your Majesty. And, notwithstanding all this, I hope, by his blessing, to be able to render your Majesty good service from this squadron, as time and opportunity offers, for I am faithfully and heartily devoted to your Majesty to my life's end.

DARTMOUTH.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO THE KING.

Downs, November 11th, 1688.

I RECEIVED the honour and comfort of your Majesty's this day. 'Tis the greatest happiness of my life that your Majesty is satisfied with my endeavours, though hitherto they have proved so unlucky.

'Tis strange that such mad proceedings should have had such success! but I hope God will bless your Majesty's forces at last.

This day, I advised with the flag-officers, &c. and found it debated by some, with great reasons, for going to the Buoy of the Nore, as the best place of safety and for fitting out a good fleet, such as might do your Majesty more effectual service than we can hope for otherwise; but some were (with this wind at N.N.E. if it hold, as it seems very likely to do) for going to Spithead. And since your Majesty is pleased to say you have so well secured London, and are going westward, I hope it will not be unreasonable for us, let their force be what it will, to look towards them. It may have a good influence on the people; and I may be able to secure this squadron there, I believe, better at least than here, which are the only places, besides the Nore, which at least will argue some fear. If I find they come up the Channel, it will be my business to follow them, and watch their coming into the river, if they venture at it. All my apprehension is of the fresh squadron they are saying to fit out in Holland, which I hope your Majesty hath better intelligence of, and will provide for.

Sir, I am very sensible of the ill-censures and misconstructions apt to be made of my proceedings; but nothing shall urge so with me of anything concerning myself, so

as to hinder me from doing whatever is most reasonable and best for the service, according to the best of my understanding.

I most humbly beg your Majesty's own directions, who are best able to judge, how you would have me proceed from time to time, as often as conveniently you can, and more especially that I might have your Majesty's thoughts, if possible, before I start from hence, this step being of so very great importance.

DARTMOUTH.

THE KING TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

Whitehall, November 12th, '88.

I HAVE received yours, and send you a Scotch seaman just come from the Dutch fleet, who can give you an exact account of their numbers and qualities, which agree with the list you intercepted. So you know what their force is, except any more hath gone to them with these easterly winds.

Mr. Pepys will give you a fuller account of all, and of the advice I have had out of Holland, by which you will find the Prince of Orange expected a recruit of ships and land-forces.

As to what will be best for you, the Buoy of the Nore ought not to be thought on, without you were much overpowered by the enemy. You best know your own strength, and whether to make use of this easterly wind to attempt anything on them. At least, I think there can be no danger of going to the Spithead. It would be of some reputation, even going thither, but of much more, if strong enough, to look out for them.

Another convenience you would have by going to the

Spithead, if you are not in condition to seek them, the conveniency of sooner changing any of your defective ships, than in any other place. And as to their coming in upon you there by the Needles, I think there can be no danger in that. For the same wind that brings them in there, would carry you out by St. Helens, and you could work to windward of them, as De Rutter did at Bulloigne Bay; and the same fate, or worse, might happen to them, as did to our fleet at that time; and should the wind chop about to the S.S.E. they would be in a very ill condition.

Now I have said this, I must leave all to your judgment who are in the place, who can judge best what is to be done, and, I am sure, will do what you think best for my service. 'Tis late, and I have not time to say more. It will be the end of this week before I think to leave this town. J. R.*

* His Majesty's warrant for the Lord Dartmouth, supplemental to his last instructions for proceeding hostilely against the fleet of Holland.

"12th November, 1688.

"J. R.—Right trusty and well-beloved councillor, We greet you well. Whereas We did, by our royal Order in Council of the first of October last, give you full power and authority so to lead, govern, and dispose of our fleet under your command as shall most conduce to our honour, and the security of our dominions, by using all hostile means against the fleet then expected upon our coast from Holland, in order to prevent their making a descent in any part of our kingdom; and whereas such descent is now actually made in the west of this our kingdom, and that not only an army is landed there, but that the said fleet, come from Holland, is still riding and hovering upon our coasts; We think it requisite, and it is our will and pleasure, that you pursue and follow our said instructions and order of the first of October last, by using all means to put the same effectually in execution, by attacking the said fleet in hostile manner, and by disabling the same, or any part or number thereof, in any place that you, or any of our ships under your command, shall happen to meet with or find, the same as you should have done had you met with them before the said descent had been made; and that you further pursue our

LORD DARTMOUTH TO THE KING.

Downs, November 13, 1688.

I AM very happy to find, by your Majesty's just now received, that it is your opinion that we go westward, which I was endeavouring, this morning, though I had not your Majesty's resolution; but it blew, by gusts, so hard, that I was not able to get out before the tide was spent. I advised with the flags, who desired me to have patience till to-morrow, when, I hope, we may have good success. Indeed, Sir, I have been in great pain to be gone ever since the wind came easterly; but we have had so great a storm that it was impossible, without great danger to the fleet.

As for the enemy's ships and our own being compared, we shall consider it no longer; but I will do the best to find them, and give you the best account God will bless me with: but the wind is very variable at this time of the year. By the coldness of the weather I hope we shall have an easterly wind. As for the ships Mr. Frowde gave the account of, I think it not reasonable to part any of the fleet to look after them at this time. If they come westward, I hope to meet them.

It is impossible to look all ways at once with this squadron. I have scouts out, and hope all will not fail me, though hitherto I have had no better success.

said instructions in all other points and particulars. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

"Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 12th day of November 1688, in the fourth year of our reign.

"By his Majesty's command,

"MIDDLETON."

"To our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor,
George Lord Dartmouth, Admiral of our Fleet."

The Scotch seaman your Majesty mentions is not yet come, being an ill horseman, as most of us sailors are; but I will take all the care imaginable of him when he comes to me. I hope Captain Rooth gave your Majesty an account that I was resolved from the beginning against going to the Buoy of the Nore, unless I were absolutely forced to it, though I have been much pressed to it by some of good judgment, yet I would never hear of it. Spithead is much more convenient in all respects: but I hope not to be forced to either till I have rendered you better service.

Your Majesty sees the misfortune it is to me neither to understand French nor Dutch; but I have now got on board me an ingenious man, one Dr. Mowrly, that, I hope, will be useful to me for the future.

Sir, I find your Majesty resolved to go in person at the end of the week. God Almighty preserve and keep you, and bless all your undertakings! Sir, my afflictions are unconceivable not to be with you at this time, and more to think of the great trust you have put in me, and I able to serve you no better hitherto; but it is no easy task, I am sure your Majesty knows, to deal with a winter squadron, which is a much greater task than the enemy.

I know the impertinency my misfortunes are liable to, by ignorant and malicious people about a Court, but my trust is only in God and your Majesty. Pray, Sir, be assured I will do all that I am able to serve you heartily; and though it is another misfortune that I cannot now hope to receive your Majesty's commands and advice so often as your service may require, yet I will do all to the best of my understanding; and as I will no more presume, so will not despair of God's blessing in my honest and laborious endeavours.

DARTMOUTH.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO THE KING.

Downs, November 15, 1688.

The Scotch seaman your Majesty was pleased to send me I have made very good use of, and given him good credit with the whole fleet, and I doubt not, but with God's blessing, better weather, and a fair opportunity, yet to give your Majesty a good account of all. I have seen this Scotsman before, and Captain Martyn, my chief mate, gives him a good character. I wish he had got from them before; for he pretends to know they designed either for the River or westward, and never intended northward, as pretended.

Receiving your Majesty's of the 12th, yesterday, with the Warrant from my Lord Middleton (p. 338), I acquainted the flag-officers therewith, and we resolved, as before, on your Majesty's first instructions, to seek the enemy, and take any fair advantage we could of them. We shall now set upon the Dutch fleet wherever we meet them. I had thoughts to have got out from hence, and to have anchored, while the weather continued fair, under Dungeness; but it was thought more advisable, and resolved by all, that in regard we had good scouts out, the winds so variable, and in respect of the season of the year, and the length of these dark nights, for the better safety of the fleet, to remain here till the scouts gave notice of the approach of the enemy, should they come towards us; and upon the first notice, to sail out by the North-sands head, to gain sea-room, for the better encountering them; and with the first fair wind to proceed to the westward, and look them out.

Sir, it is the grief of my heart that I have not been able to serve you better, and that this letter comes still from this place; but it is now stark calm, and I heartily pray

for a fair wind, so that I hope in God my next will be able to give your Majesty a better account.

Mr. Pepys writes to me for the officers that were prisoners, but I gave him an account some time since that I had sent them to Sir Charles Littleton, and, I believe, if the Major be examined, he is capable of giving as good an account as any man of that post among them, if you can make him honest.

For God's sake! Sir, let them fit what ships they can, especially at Portsmouth, and let the guns be got aboard as soon as may be, by the ordinary, for what can be, must be done at this time. God Almighty prosper and preserve your Majesty!

DARTMOUTH.

THE MARQUIS D'ALBEVILLE TO LORD PRESTON.

MY LORD, Hague, November 16, 1688.

THE several advertisements sent to the Prince by express-boats, that the sea-ports in the North were well provided, and good orders given in all those parts, he was advised from England to land in the West, where he might be assured towns and men sufficiently would declare for him, and surprise the Court, being not expected to land there; letters from the Courts both of England and France assuring that he would land at Yarmouth, or somewhere in the North; and finding no men-of-war at Calais and Dunkirk, and having some assurance the King's fleet would not engage, divers captains having declared they would not fight against their religion, as they have been informed, made them resolve to sail towards the West, and, it is said, to land some men in the Isle of Wight; to keep Portsmouth blocked up, and by the manner they

will dispose of their fleet, and reinforce it constantly with fresh ships, they will interrupt all communication with France, and be ready there to invade it, jointly with England, in the spring: this is their language, as exorbitant as your lordship may think it, and as impracticable.

Brakel, whose ship of 70 guns was leaky, two men-of-war more fitted, and one fitting near ready, and seven victuallers not ready, having been left behind, it was thought the Prince stayed awhile for them beyond the Banks; but he waited there for the return of one he sent to England, who came that very night.

The people at Rotterdam, and in all the sea-ports, began to murmur against the Prince for losing so much time, since the wind and weather proved so favourable, for they think they will be received with open arms everywhere. On Friday the 18th, Vice-Admiral Allemond returned to Helvoet-Sluys from the fleet, to take care of the ships remaining, and one captain-flag to take command of the ship that is fitting. On Wednesday the 3rd of November were despatched two vessels, with above fifty thousand of the Manifesto of the Prince, one into the West, and another into the North, I believe into Scotland, and one Robinson, in a ketch, and another employed for scouts.

A yacht of Sir Hugh Owen, in Wales, came from Milford Haven to Rotterdam about two months since, pretended to be laden with coals, but brought eight chests of silver, and hath lain at the Brill ever since the fleet hath been ready, and so soon as the fleet sailed, went away to Wales to carry advice.

Sir William Waller* was expressly sent for by the Prince to Cassell, and embarked in the fleet, to make use of him in his free Parliament, I believe. Eighteen boats, with

* M.P. for Westminster, 1679 and 1681.

about seven hundred men, arrived at Rotterdam on the 13th; three regiments more are expected, and ships ready to take them on board.

Marshal de Humiers is returned to the Isle with some companies of the French King's Guards, which will facilitate parting with these men.

I sent your lordship the Prince's Manifesto by the last packet-boat, though I believed your lordship had got it there already. Now it is sold publicly, and in all languages, as well as this enclosed fine picture, which infamous liberty they may as well take, as the Prince to speak, in his Manifesto, so basely and falsely of the supposed great belly of the Queen, and of the supposed Prince of Wales, whom God preserve! — and the King his father to punish these abominations!

I send your lordship the copy of a letter I received from a friend from Hanover.

I am, with great truth and esteem,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most humble and most faithful servant,

MARQUIS D'ALBEVILLE.

The packet-boats are now suffered to go freely from hence.

THE MARQUIS D'ALBEVILLE TO LORD ——.

MY LORD, Hague, November 26, 1688.

THE Prince's friends not being satisfied with the States' resolution for setting out only nine frigates to clear the Channel of privateers, and that the Prince might make use of them as the necessity of his affairs should require, went immediately to the Admiralties, and represented the abso-

lute necessity of setting out immediately all the men-of-war they could, to secure a communication with the Prince and with their fleet, as well as to secure the passage of four or five thousand men, whereof there are three hundred horse, to be sent to the Prince, some provisions for the fleet, and a ship full of ammunition and arms.

The Admiralties ordered what ships are ready, to sail immediately to the Mase. In the mean time, the States-General consent was obtained; and without it the Admiralties would have proceeded, being of themselves sovereign courts.

The two regiments in boats at Rotterdam, and sent to the Brill and Helvoet-Sluys, on the appearing of ~~four~~ Some ships, thought to be French, are ordered to be embarked there. Two men-of-war came from the Texel, and lie before the Mase, with two ships with soldiers, whereof one is the ship called the Seven Brothers, with part of Lieutenant-Colonel Cutts's regiment, which was given as lost, having not been heard of till some days after the departure of the fleet: the frigate which conducted the two ships, with five hundred men of Holstein's regiment and seventy French refugee officers, lies there likewise with the said men. Brakell has been cruising, and is hourly expected with three men-of-war more, to convoy the above ships.

The great heat of the town of Amsterdam for the Prince's design seems to relent. They begin to speak against the raising the three thousand horse and some foot the States-General have resolved upon, alleging that having lent so much money lately to the Province of Utrecht, and to other Provinces before, they cannot continue these extraordinary expenses.

The Lieutenant-Colonel who commanded the five hundred men of the Duke of Holstein's regiment and seventy

refugee officers (that they say to have been so well received at the Isle of Wight that the inhabitants would take no money from them) made his report in the same conformity, to the States-General. The reports of the French officers vary so much, that people suspect the truth of their being so well received.

The States would fain leave the ships that transported the Prince's army, horses, artillery, and baggage, to come back, for the charges they are at for hiring them amount daily to a vast sum; but whilst the King's fleet is in the way, they know not well how to send any succours to the Prince, or have those ships come back.

I understand they design to set sail by night, and endeavour to get first before Flushing, and steal by night beyond Dover and Calais. But if the news that Van Citters writes to the States should prove true, (which God forbid!) they may easily execute what they desire. This impertinent silly ambassador assures that my Lord Dartmouth sent to the King to let his Majesty know he had but seven or eight ships that would fight against the Prince of Orange; that all he could obtain of the rest of the ships that compose the fleet was to keep themselves neuter. That the Queen, with the Prince of Wales, were to go to Portsmouth with a good guard, whither seventy thousand pounds are sent already, and the garrison reinforced. That the friends deferred to declare till the King were gone out of London. That the bishops refused to make the declaration the King had desired of them, concerning the invasion of the Prince of Orange. That Bristol was well inclined, and several shires already declared for the Prince. That many in Scotland were up in arms, and that the King could not march with his artillery within ten miles of the Prince. These falsities make them overjoyed here, as well at Court as elsewhere.

I know some of the States, for all this, who are in no small perplexity for the affairs of England, and others wish that the Prince may never return; and who would speak resolutely, if the French had appeared powerful on their frontiers, or had he received a defeat at sea. They think it dangerous to speak their sentiments whilst he hath all the power in his hands, and nobody able to control him.

The States send commissioners to Bremen, to receive the Swedes that are to serve them. They press at the Emperor's Court to have a peace concluded with the Turks.

I have not yet received what his Majesty says to the States' resolution of their assisting the Prince of Orange, notwithstanding the reiterated assurances they gave his Majesty by their ambassador, of maintaining the peace; a strange perfidiousness, and never to be forgotten.

I am most perfectly,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most humble and most faithful servant,

MARQUIS D'ALBEVILLE.

The forces embarked at Helvoet-Sluys intend to set sail next week.

One Mr. Gay, or Gea, a man of fifty years, and his son, a young lad of seventeen or eighteen years, are gone over, in a very good equipage, with the Prince. He hired a small vessel for himself and his servants and his equipage. I cannot yet learn of what country he is.

A copy of the King's Letter, in his own hand, to my Lord Dartmouth, dated from

Whitehall, November 29, 1688.

You will have an account from Mr. Pepys of the ill condition my affairs are in on shore. I am sorry you have

been so roughly used by the winds at sea. This is a bad time of year for any action on that inconstant element.

The preservation of the squadron is of the last consequence; therefore, pray consider well which is the best way, and where the greatest part of our fleet shall be, it being fit to leave some ships either at the Spithead, or in the harbour, and let me have your opinion speedily, that I may see if I approve of it.

J. R.

"The letter from the King to Lord Dartmouth, Dec. 10, 1688, has the following endorsement by Pepys:—

"Copy of the King's letter to the Lord Dartmouth the night before his withdrawing himself.

"*Memorandum.* — Another was, the next morning, brought me, sealed up, from the King for my Lord Dartmouth, very early, by a Frenchman, one of the pages of the Back-stairs, who told me that at the King's going away he put two letters into his hand, one for the Count du Roy, and this for my Lord Dartmouth, to be delivered to me; which I accordingly despatched forthwith away to my lord by express.—S. P."

"In the same volume of MSS. (*Rawlinson*, A. 186.) immediately following the King's letter to Lord Dartmouth," says the *amanuensis*, "is a large Dutch print, folded up, with this indorsement by Pepys:—'November 11th, 1688. A print of the Prince of Orange's fleet then bound for England.'

"This engraving measures about fifteen inches by twenty-one inches, represents a great number of ships, with the names of the commanders annexed to each ship. At the top are the Prince's arms, and this inscription:

'Order Van de Vloot, Van syn Doorlugtige Hoog-

heyt den Heer Prins Van Orangie Zeylende tot halpe der Engelsche Protestanten den 11 Novemb. 1688.'

"It is described as a very curious print, and is probably the one referred to in one of the preceding letters of the Marquis d'Albeville." See *supra*, p. 344.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL ASSEMBLED AT GUILDHALL, LONDON.

My Lords, Resolution, Spithead, December 15, 1688.

On your lordships' convening at Guildhall the 11th instant, on his Majesty's private withdrawing himself, I received from Mr. Secretary Pepys the subscribed signification of your lordships' pleasure.

At that great meeting, you resolved (for preventing the effusion of blood among us at this conjuncture, in consideration of the Prince of Orange's fleet being still on the English coast) that all acts of hostility should cease, and all Popish officers in the fleet be removed out of their respective commands.

On which weighty matters, as the only means, under God, to preserve the King my master, and establish the laws and properties and the Protestant religion, I had deliberated with myself (upon the surprisal and unfortunate news of his Majesty's withdrawing himself) before the receipt of your lordships', and was putting it in execution.

It is now actually done; and I have likewise, with the unanimous concurrence of the fleet, addressed myself, as I see your lordships have done, to the Prince of Orange, for the better effecting and settling all things that conduce to the King's and kingdom's safety and general good; wherein I promise to contribute as far as is in my power.

And therefore humbly referring your lordships for all further occurrences of the fleet to the particular account thereof I have with this sent to Mr. Pepys, Secretary of the Admiralty. I subscribe myself,

Your lordships'
Most humble servant,
DARTMOUTH.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

Spithead, December 20, 1688.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I HAVE received and obeyed your Highness's letter and order of the 16th instant, from Windsor, so far as I have been hitherto able, and, with the first slack of wind, will make the best of my way to the Buoy of the Nore. My only fear is, that the winds should hang easterly. If so, there must be necessary care taken to send me provisions, for this place hath been in that disorder that it cannot presently supply me. I had gone from hence some time since, but that I thought it my duty to preserve the navy in harbour, the dock, and stores, &c. from the folly and rage of the Irish, and keeping them upon terms of quietly submitting to your Highness, which is now done.

Pardon me for hinting one thing to your Highness, which, I think, no time ought to be lost in, which is, speedily to send some of the lesser ships off the Bank of Guernsey, and put good garrisons in Jersey and Guernsey, the latter of which, if it should be possessed by the French, will be a thorn in England's sides for ever. If your Highness will please to call for the survey of that place from the officers of the Ordnance, you will judge better of it than I am here able to express. Mr. Mus-

grave will attend with it upon your Highness's first commands. I fear that office is, at this time, in great disorder; but, as soon as I am able to wait on your Highness, I will examine into it, and give you a perfect account.

I will not give your Highness any further trouble now, but upon my being under sail, will send my secretary, Mr. Bowles, to wait on your Highness, with a full account of all things relating to the fleet and otherwise. I humbly submit myself to your Highness, as becomes

Your Highness's most obedient humble servant,

DARTMOUTH.

No. VIII.*

There unfortunately exist no materials to illustrate the "interval of nine years," from 1690. We learn, however, from the short Life of Pepys which Lord Braybrooke prefixed to his "Diary and Correspondence," that he was not left by his political enemies, undisturbed.

"In June 1690," says Lord Braybrooke, "they procured his committal to the Gate-house, upon pretence of his being affected to King James; but he was soon permitted, on account of ill health, to return to his own house, and there is no further mention of the charge; though even in 1692 he appears to have apprehended some fresh persecution, being obliged, as he himself observes, to enjoy his *otium*, without the company of more of his books and papers than he was willing should be visited and disturbed."

* See ii. 251.

Pepys addressed the following note to the gentlemen * who bailed him upon his release from prison.

"October 15, 1690.

"Being, this day, become once again a free man in every respect, I mean, but that of my obligation to you and the rest of my friends, to whom I stand indebted for my being so, I think it but a reasonable part of my duty to pay you and them my thanks for it in a body, but know not how otherwise to compass it than by begging you, which I hereby do, to take your share with them and me here to-morrow, of a piece of mutton, which is all I dare promise you, besides that of my being ever

"Your most bounden and faithful humble servant,

"S. P."

Among the extraordinary occurrences during this *interval*, is the following: —

"Mr. Pepys's account of Mr. Meheux's singular memory, September 10, 1698.

"This day, at my table, Lord Clarendon, Captain Hatton, Dr. Smith, and I, (each successively, at his pleasure,) dictated sixty independent words, set down in numerical order, to Mr. Meheux; which, after a silent pause of about eight minutes, he repeated, in the same order, backwards and forwards. He also answered our demands of any of them singly, by their number, only out of all order, and this without the least failure, or so much as hesitancy, saving only that, in his first recital, he stopped at the word budget, which, in repeating the words backwards immediately afterwards, he quoted right. Nor did he stint us

* "Sir Peter Palavacini, Mr. James Houblon, Mr. Blackburne, and Mr. Martin."

to any number of words, inviting us to go on beyond sixty, which we thought abundantly enough.

Mem. that he objected to the word *Heautontimorou-menos*, not for its length, but praying that each word might be significative of something which he understood. Captain Hatton, who had seen the like experiment in France, asking him whether his making another trial presently, upon a fresh set of words, would not entirely efface the memory of the first, (which was the case with *him* in France,) he said it would not, if he proposed to himself the remembering of the former; and he was ready to have given us a proof of it, had we insisted on it.— *Appendix*, p. 302.

Of the general *Correspondence* during this *interval*, Mr. Evelyn's letters bear a large proportion. In the earliest, (June 11, 1620,) he says:

"When I reflect, as who can but reflect, on what you were pleased to communicate yesterday, so many and so different passions crowd on my thoughts, that I know not which first to give vent to; indignation, pity, sorrow, contempt, and anger, — love, esteem, admiration, and all that can express the most generous resentments of one who cannot but take part in the cause of an injured and worthy person. With what indignation for the malevolence of these men, pity of their ignorance and folly, sorrow and contempt of their malice and ingratitude, do I look upon and despise them.

"On the other side, in what bonds and obligations of love, esteem, and just admiration, ought we to regard him who dares expose himself to all this suffering with so intrepid a resolution, because his innocence and merits will justify him to his country and to all the world. I speak not this to flatter my friend, nor needs he my counsel or

comfort: he has enough within him of his own, bravely to support him."

A few weeks later, (August 1690,) Evelyn says: "This hasty script is to acquaint you, that my Lord Bishop of St. Asaph (*Lloyd*, who died 1692) will take it for an honour to be thought able to give Mr. Pepys any light in those mysteries (in the *Apocalypse*) you and I have discoursed of. To-morrow, his lordship says, eating no dinner, he, shall be alone, and ready to receive your commands." As a P.S. to his "hasty script," Evelyn adds (p. 111):

"The lords in the Tower, and other prisoners, against whom there is no special matter chargeable, are to be freed upon bail. My Lord Clarendon is also within that qualification, as the Bishop tells me."

Pepys and his friend Evelyn now appear to have indulged their inclination to collect prints of public persons, especially of those who had influenced the foreign and domestic relations of the country. Nor did those well-paired associates cease to indulge their passion for hospitalities. Thus, 13th November 1690, Pepys regrets his friend's absence from Mr. Houblon's dinner last week, where," he adds, "both he and I," (no doubt, amidst

"The feast of reason, and the flow of soul,")

"drank your health, and earnestly wished you there, as believing the meal would have pleased you no less than it did me, as hardly consisting of one dish or glass, besides bread and beer, of nearer growth than China, Persia, and the Cape of Good Hope."

Among the correspondents of Pepys during this *interval*, were Dr. Montagu, (fourth son of the first Earl of Sandwich, and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge,) also the Bishop of London, (Compton,) Mr. Gregory King, Lancaster Herald. From Dresden, February 7, 1692-3, the latter says:—

"I should not forgive myself if I did not pay you the respect of a line or two, even at this distance. The Gazette will inform you of the ceremony of investing his Electoral Highness of Saxony with the Order of the Garter, in the Great Hall here *(atrium gigantum)*.

"The Elector is highly pleased with the Order, testified not only by the noble presents he has made to the Commissioners and their retinue, but by the perfect good-humour he has shown ever since, and by his bestowing upon Sir William Colt, my colleague, the badge of *Sincerity*, which he took from his own arm, and put upon Sir William's. It is an enamelled jewel, wherein are two hands in armour; on one, this motto, *uni à jamais;* and on the other, *amitié sincère*. The first motto, said the Elector, upon giving it to Sir William, is for the King and myself; the next is for you and me. The day after the ceremony was a famous tilting, thirty on a side, all gentlemen of eight descents; and the day after were most noble fire-works.

"The next day, (Sunday 26th,) we had audience of leave. We dined with the Elector, and he gave me my passport for England yesterday. We were shown the arsenals and the armoury, and then the seven chambers of varieties, all highly worth seeing, besides the stables. On Thursday next is a masquerade in boors' habits, thirty ladies and gentlemen, and among them the Elector and Electrice, and on Friday a magnificent opera, all in honour of the Order. After which, I return with all diligence for England, and shall long to kiss your hands, and to assure you how truly I am, &c.

"GREGORY KING."

No. X.*

Humphrey Wanley, son of a clergyman of Coventry, was born in 1672. What time he could spare from the handicraft-trade to which his father put him, he employed in turning over old MSS.

Under the patronage of his diocesan, Dr. Lloyd, he was educated at Oxford, and eventually, after having "greatly assisted Dr. Mill in his collations of the New Testament," &c. became librarian to the Earl of Oxford, and thus was largely concerned in the formation of the *Harleian* library.

Dr. Charlett thus writes to Pepys from University College, November 17, 1696.

"I cannot forbear affecting you with the concerns of Mr. Wanley, whom you have so kindly espoused. The curators of our library have, in opposition to some people, committed to his inspection the examination and digesting of our coins and medals, according to the paper of his composition I showed you, and have ordered all the books on that subject now wanting to be bought and placed there forthwith. He is likewise ordered to oversee all our MSS. In these and in other things, he hath such a perfection, that it makes me smile to see; at the same time, that I cannot tell by what method he comes to the knowledge of them, though he lies in my own house."—*Cor.* p. 153.

"Mr. Wanley ended a laborious life, July 6, 1726," aged fifty-four. His valuable collections of early English Bibles and Testaments, one of the best in the kingdom, was purchased of him a short time previous to his decease by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and now forms the principal ornament of the library of that cathedral.

* See ii. 261. 264.

No. XI.*

These inquiries, extending over seven quarto pages, comprehend medals and MSS. of very various descriptions. Of the latter, and the curious specimens of early typography, Wanley says: —

"I would entreat you, Sir, to take notice of the numbers of books in every library, and particularly of the MSS.; and, amongst these, to put down the names of such books as the Spaniards seem to value most. If you find a great number of Greek MSS. in any library, and an accurate catalogue of them, I should be glad to see that. When admitted to the sight of their reliques, 'tis possible that, upon inquiry, you may meet with some very ancient copies of the Psalms, Gospels, &c. written in capital letters, and perhaps gilt with silver or gold, upon fine purple-coloured parchment. Be pleased to cause four or five lines, with the alphabet, to be delineated for me.

"If these books be in Latin, and differ considerably from the Vulgate of St. Hierom, be pleased to get a book collated or copied, for, in all probability, it may prove the Italic version so much wanted. Any Greek MSS. certainly appearing to have been written before the year (from the beginning of the world) 6300, or any Latin MS. before the year of Christ, 700, cause four or five times, with the alphabet and date, to be copied for me. Be pleased to bring up as many old pieces of parchment (you will think this an odd request) as you can get. By some years' pains, I have now purchased and received from my friends several thousands of such fragments, which, when I have distributed according to their several

* See ii. 261.

ages and countries, I hope to make very useful to some sorts of students on divers accounts.

" I desire you, likewise, to inquire after the libraries of Antonio Augustino, Diego Hurtado, Cardinal Ximenes at Complutum, and that of the Escurial, if that library be not burnt. I desire you would take good notice of two books, the Gospels (they will tell you) written by St. Augustine, and the Bible, in capitals, by command of the Emperor Conrad. I would have specimens of these, if they will suffer them to be taken, which I much doubt, having read the grievous complaint of Corderius and Barvoletius against the friars that kept the library in their time.

" I have been told that in Spain there has lately been found a very antient copy of the Gospels, in Arabic, much different from ours. You will be able (at Seville) to find out what truth there can be in such a report. Be pleased likewise to inform yourself of the antiquity of the Castilian tongue, and procure the Lord's Prayer therein, as old as may be.

" I would be glad if you would inform yourself of the rise and progress of printing amongst them, and of the dates of their oldest printed books.

" I forgot to mention to you six books said to be in the Escurial, containing the true pictures and resemblances of all the birds, beasts, fishes, plants, and other natural curiosities, found by the Spaniards in America at their coming there."—*Cor.*

No. XII.*

" On Friday the 18th, about four in the afternoon, Felipe V^to^ made his entry here; not with much pomp, but

* See ii. 261.

a most surprising concourse of coaches and people, having, according to the Spanish manner, no guards, but only magistrates with their white wands. He designed to have mounted on horseback; but seeing the crowd and dust, very prudently waved it, to the disappointment of abundance, particularly ladies, very numerous, and the richest in clothes and jewels I ever saw. As a sad proof of the multitudes I speak of, no less than forty were trod under foot, and killed outright, and above a hundred are said to be languishing under their bruises, and dying daily, among the rest, a friar and a priest.

"The occasion is differently told, but this is the most received account, that the officers of the customs, suspecting the people to take advantage of the confusion for running goods, shut the gates upon them. Afterwards, opening them on a sudden, the foremost fell, and upon them the next, and so on, at least to the number I have mentioned, and were immediately smothered. The King has granted pensions to those poor families who suffered by this disaster. What is to be excepted against in this entry is, their coming in no parade or order, his Majesty in a filthy old coach of the late King's, without guards, and his better sort of attendants at half an hour's distance from one another; and divers of the inferior sort, attending the baggage, in so very ragged clothes, as exposed them extremely to the scorn of the Spaniards.

"But this, indeed, was not the entry we have talked of: that will not be till after Lent, and some say till May. Triumphal arches are preparing, and bulls feeding, with other things, which our friends would make us believe are worth staying for; but I cannot. With the change of ministers I shall not trouble you. The Cardinal is the do-all."—*Cor.*

No. XIII.*

Froissart had thus appeared in an earlier edition :—

" Le Grands Chroniques de France, d'Angleterre, et autres Lieux depuis l'an 1326 jusqu'en 1400, par Messire Jehan Froissart, et continuée jusqu'en 1498, par un auteur anonymé. *Paris*, sans indication d'année. 4 v. fol." — *De Bure*, No. 5162, who adds,—

" Il en existe un magnifique exemplaire *imprioné sur vélin* à *Paris* dans le Cabinet de M. Gaignat, décoré des figures peintes en or, et en couleurs."

" John Froissart, priest, canon, and treasurer of the Collegiate Church of Chimay," says Mr. Johnes of Hafod, his latest and highly accomplished translator and editor, " was born in Valenciennes about 1337." The year of his decease Mr. Johnes was unable to discover, but Froissart had then probably passed his grand climacteric. His English biography was published under the following title : —

" Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Froissart; to which is added some account of the manuscript of his Chronicle in the Elizabethian library at Breslau. By Thomas Johnes, Esq. at the *Hafod* Press, 1810." Prefixed is an engraving, from a drawing by Vertue, of " Froissart presenting his Book of Poems to King Richard II." Of his author, Mr. Johnes says :—

" He loved hunting, music assemblies, feasts, dancing, dress. These tastes, which almost all showed themselves from twelve years of age, being confirmed by habit, were continued even to his old age. Neither the serious thoughts nor the affections of Froissart being yet sufficiently engaged, his love to history filled up the void which his

* See ii. 264. 266.

passion for pleasure left, and became to him an inexhaustible source of amusement.

"He had just left school, and was scarcely twenty years old when, at the entreaty of his dear lord and patron, Sir Robert de Namur, Lord of Beaufort, he undertook to write the history of the wars of his own time, more particularly of those which ensued after the battle of Poictiers. Four years afterwards, having gone to England, he presented a part of this history to Queen Philippa of Hainault, consort of Edward III.

"During his passage, the weather was so tempestuous as to threaten an immediate wreck. When the weather became calm, Froissart found himself on a coast where, as he says, 'they love war rather than peace, and where strangers are well received.'* He speaks of England, the reception given him, the amusements procured for him in the societies of lords, ladies, and damsels.

Of Froissart's residence in England, we only know that he was present at the separation of the King and Queen in 1361, with their son the Prince of Wales, (and the Princess,) going to take possession of the government of Aquitaine; and that he was between Eltham and Westminster in 1363, when King John of France passed on his return to England."

While thus attached to the service of the Queen, Froissart employed six months in Scotland, and penetrated as far as the Highlands. He travelled on horseback, with a portmanteau, and followed by a greyhound. The King of Scotland and many lords treated him so handsomely, that he wished to have returned thither.

* Not thus had Horace, a few centuries earlier, (Cam. lib. iii. Od. iv. 33.) described *Britannos hospitibus feros.* See an illustration by contrast, which I had occasion to offer, from a scholar of the seventeenth century. "Life of Calamy," (1829,) i. 19. *Note.*

Froissart experienced a loss for which nothing could compensate: Philippa, who had loaded him with wealth, died in 1369. He left England, but returned thither in 1395. From Dover he went to Canterbury, made his offering at Becket's shrine, and, from respect to the memory of the Prince of Wales, visited his magnificent mausoleum. There he saw the young King Richard, arrived to return thanks for the success of his last campaign in Ireland.

"An English esquire, who knew that Froissart was writing his history, coming up to him, inquired if he had been informed of the details of the King's conquests just made in Ireland. Froissart pretended to be ignorant in conversation, to engage the esquire, who took pleasure in recounting them."

On his return to England, Froissart had brought with him the Romance of Meliador, waiting a favourable opportunity to present it to the King. At length the Prince asked to see it, and the historian says: "He saw it in his chamber, (for I had it always with me,) and placed it on his bed. He looked into it, and was vastly pleased. He ought indeed to have been pleased, for it was illuminated, and the writing much ornamented. It was, besides, bound in crimson velvet, with ten silver-gilt nails, and a golden rose, in the midst of two clasps, gilt, richly chased with gold roses. Then," continues Froissart, "the King inquired of what subject it treated, and I told him, of love. He was delighted with this answer, and looked into different parts of the book, and read therein; for he read and spoke French perfectly well. He then ordered one of his knights to carry it to his cabinet, and he seemed much obliged to me for it."

Recurring to Ireland: — "Everything the historian heard, among the rest, the repast which the King of

England gave to the four kings, after having conquered them, excited in him very great regret for not having come to England a year sooner."

"The English," says Mr. Johnes, "whom the reading of Froissart interests in so particular a manner, have in their language a translation of his Chronicles, composed by Sir John Bourchier, Lord Berners, by order of King Henry VIII, and printed towards the end of his reign, under the following title: 'Froissart's Cronycles, oute of Frenche into our maternale Englysshe tongue.'"

"After a careful collation of different MSS, Mr. Johnes rendered into English a translation of Froissart's Chronicle, which he printed at the Hafod press, with variations and additions, and fac-simile engravings, from curious and beautiful original illuminations of the time."—*Year-Book.*

Several years earlier, Mr. Hayley had given some interesting biographical notices of the faithful chronicler, plain Froissart, of whom he had not "met in our language with any satisfactory account." He further says:—"It may serve as a kind of *memento mori* to poetical vanity to reflect that Froissart is hardly known as a poet, though his fertile pen produced thirty thousand verses, which were once the delight of princes, and the favourite study of the gallant and the fair."

No. XIV.*

"Isidore is allowed," adds Dr. Clarke, "to be an elegant and useful writer." His *Etymologiarum* was first printed, 1472. "It is said that the types used for this edition were made of brass." It was reprinted, 1473, in "the

* See ii. 265.

character of John Mentellin of Strasburg, and the first production of his press. There were later editions, "1585, 1602, and 1622," till "republished more correctly at the end of Martinius's *Lexicon Philologicum*, fol. 1697."

XV.*

Leland "spent above six years in travelling about England by the sea coasts and middle parts, sparing neither labour nor cost, and noted, in so doing, a whole world of things very memorable. Not content with what the libraries afforded, nor with what was recorded in the windows and other monuments belonging to cathedrals, monasteries, &c. he wandered from place to place where there were any footsteps of Roman, Saxon, or Danish buildings, and took particular notice of tumuli, coins, inscriptions, &c. which he happened to light upon.

"In some of the inscriptions he has done his part very punctually; but for the coins, he has failed; thinking it enough to tell us of any that had been dug up, without setting down the words or letters, or assigning the emperors to whom they belonged. But this sort of knowledge had little advanced, and what he did in other parts was prodigious." Leland, however, in some places, had "come a day too late." He thus complains to Cromwell:

"Besides the general devastation at home, historians and records are carried abroad, to the shame and scandal of the time. The Germans, perceiving our deciduousness and negligence, do send daily young scholars hither, that spoil them, and cut them out of libraries, returning home, and putting them abroad, from the presses of Frobenius

* See ii. 268.

and others, as monuments of their own country." To assist the labours of our learned antiquary in abating this "national injury," he was furnished, among others, with the following recommendatory letter.

A LETTER WRITTEN IN BEHALF OF MASTER LELAND.

"In right hearty manner I commend me on to you. And whereas Master Leylande, at this præsente tyme, cummith to *Byri*, [Bury, Suf.] to see what bookes be lefte yn the library there, or translatid thens ynto any other corner of the late monastery, I shaul desier yow upon just consideration right redily to forder his cause, and to permitte him to have the use of such as may forder hym yn setting forth such matiers as he writith, for the King's Majeste. In so doying, ye shaul bynde me to show on to you, at al tymes, like gratitude: for if I were present at this tyme with yow I wold gladly my selfe fulfil his honest requeste. Thus fare ye wel this ix of Novembre at Barnwelle."

No. XVII.*

The learned Bishop of Avranches, *Huet*, in his autobiography, has afforded the following instance:

"When his Highness the Dauphin was one day confined to his bed by a slight illness, and we who stood round were endeavouring to entertain him by pleasant conversation, mention was by chance made of the person who boasted that he had written Homer's Iliad in characters so minute, that the whole could be enclosed in a walnut-shell. This appearing incredible to many of the company, I contended not only that it might be done, but

* See ii. 289.

that I could do it. As they expressed their astonishment at this assertion, that I might not be suspected of idle boasting, I immediately put it to the proof.

"I therefore took the fourth part of a common leaf of paper, and on its narrower side wrote a single line in so small a character, that it contained 20 verses of the Iliad. Of such lines each page of the paper could easily admit 120; therefore the page would contain 2400 Homeric verses. And as the leaf so divided would give eight pages, it would afford room for above 19,000 verses; whereas the whole number in the Iliad does not exceed 17,100. Thus, by my single line, I demonstrated my proposition."

"Aug. 10, 1575. Peter Bales, one of our earliest and most eminent writing-masters, finished a performance which contained the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Decalogue, with two short prayers in Latin, his own name, motto, the day of the month, year of our Lord, and reign of the Queen (Elizabeth), to whom he afterwards presented it at Hampton Court; all within the circle of a single penny, enchased in a ring, with borders of gold, and covered with a crystal, so accurately wrought as to be plain and legible, to the great admiration of her Majesty, her ministers, and several ambassadors.

No. XVIII.*

I have not found the Rev. Jer. Wells a correspondent of Pepys on any other occasion; and his letter, without a date, extending through several pages, is too exclusively and minutely theological to be here suitably quoted at large.

* See ii. 289.

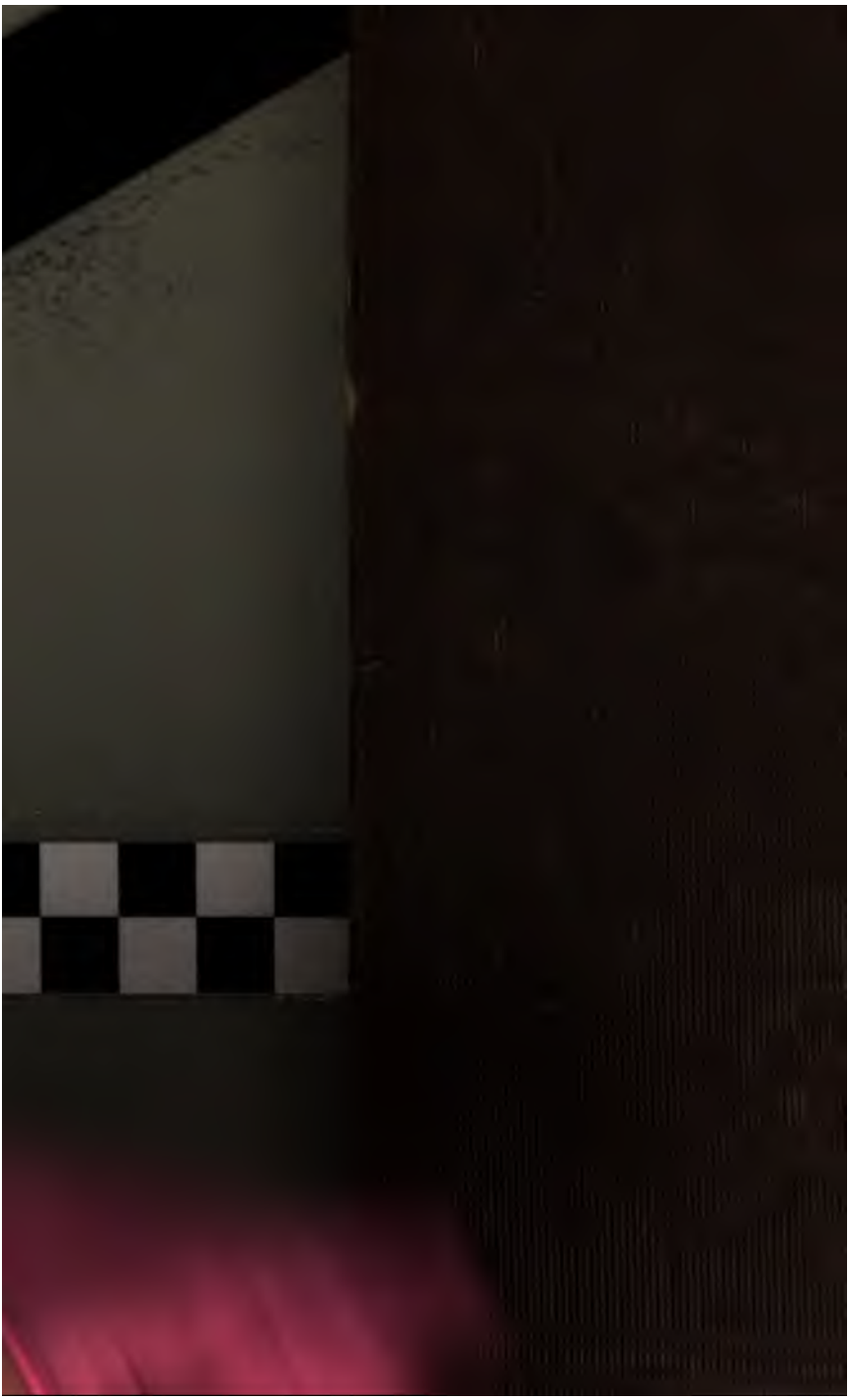
Pepys appears to have communicated to his correspondent, for the benefit of his remarks, a work on *Præadamites*, whose existence became a question for ingenious, not to say fanciful criticism, about the middle of the seventeenth century. There was, probably, no work in English on the subject. The book which Pepys had sent for his correspondent's perusal and opinion was, doubtless, the following Latin work, thus introduced and described by Adam Clarke.

"*Præadamitæ*, sive Exercitatio super versibus 12, 13, 14, capitis v. Epistolæ Divi Pauli ad Romanos, quibus inducuntur primi homines ante Adamum conditi. Systema Theologicum Isaaci La Peyrere, anno 1655."

No. XIX.*

"In two parts, the second Edition, Corrected (1727); to which is added, a Table of the Texts of Scripture contained in both Parts." This essay is dedicated "to the Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy of the Church of England. By H. R."

* See ii. 290.

THE END.

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